

P L U T A R C H ' s
L I V E S .

V O L U M E VI.

C O N T A I N I N G

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| D I O N, | A R A T U S, |
| MARCUS BRUTUS, | G A L B A, |
| ARTAXERXES, | O T H O. |

T O W H I C H I S A D D E D ,

A C O M P L E T E I N D E X .

E D I N B U R G H :

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M D C C L X I I I .



T H E L I F E O F D I O N.

AS, according to Simonides, the Trojans were not angry with the Corinthians for joining their forces with the other Greeks in the confederate expedition against them, because Glaucus king of Lycia, whose ancestors were originally of Corinth, readily engaged on their side, and brought them aid to Troy; so neither can the Romans or Grecians be justly displeased with the academy, by which both of them have been equally favoured, as will appear from this historical account of the lives of Brutus and Dion. For one of them was contemporary and familiarly conversant with Plato, and the other from his youth educated in his philosophy; so that they were like wrestlers trained in the same school, and sent forth to the same important conflicts. Nor need we wonder, if, by the near resemblance and affinity of their actions, they confirm that maxim of their guide in the ways of virtue, *That power and fortune must concur with justice and prudence, in order to accomplish any thing great and glorious in the management of public affairs.* For as Hippomachus the wrestler affirmed, that he could distinguish his scholars at a great distance, though they were only carrying meat from the sham-

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bles;

bles * ; in the same manner it is reasonable to suppose, that the sentiments of those who have had a good education do alike influence their actions, and communicate to them a certain grace, beauty, and dignity.

There was also a strong resemblance between these two great men in those events of their lives which were rather the effect of accident than design; for they were both cut off by an untimely death, not being able to accomplish those ends which through many dangers and difficulties they aimed at. But, above all, this is most wonderful, that the gods forewarned both of them of their approaching death by the appearance of a frightful spectre. There are indeed some who utterly deny any such thing, and say, that no man in his senses ever saw a phantom or apparition, but that children only, and silly women, or men whose intellects some overbearing passion of the mind or distemper of the body has impaired, entertain such idle and absurd fancies, and so far give way to superstition as to imagine themselves haunted by evil spirits. Yet if Dion and Brutus, men of philosophic minds, and great dignity of character, who were not easily deluded by fancy, or discomposed by any sudden passion, were so disturbed at these visions, that they immediately declared to their friends what they had seen; I know not how we can avoid admitting again that very ancient opinion, however absurd it may appear, that evil spirits, out of envy to good men, vigorously oppose whatever they do, and by raising distractions and terrors in the mind, endeavour to shake and undermine their virtue, lest, by a steady perseverance in goodness, they should after death obtain a happier condition of futurity than those wretched beings can ever hope for. But I shall re-

* It was customary among the Grecians, to go themselves to the markets; which is a circumstance that cannot appear strange to those who have read the characters of Theophrastus.

fer these things to another place, and, in this twelfth book of parallel lives, begin with the elder.

Dionysius the First, having seized on the government of Sicily, married the daughter of Hermocrates, a Syracusan. She, in an insurrection which the citizens made before the government was well settled, was abused in such a barbarous and outrageous manner, that for shame she put an end to her own life. But Dionysius, being soon re-established and confirmed in the throne, married two wives, one named *Doris*, a native of Locris, the other *Aristomache*, daughter of Hipparinus, a nobleman of the first quality in Syracuse, and colleague with Dionysius when he was first chosen general of the army. It is said he married them both in one day. Which he enjoyed first, is uncertain; but ever after he divided his kindness equally betwixt them, both accompanying him together at his table, and in his bed by turns. Indeed the Syracusans were urgent that their own countrywoman might be preferred before the stranger; but *Doris*, to recompense the disadvantage of being a foreigner, had the good fortune to be the mother of Dionysius's eldest son, whilst *Aristomache* continued a long time without issue, though the king was very desirous to have children by her, and caused *Doris's* mother to be put to death, accusing her of having by potions and inchantments prevented *Aristomache's* conception.

Dion was *Aristomache's* brother, and at first found a very honourable reception at court, on his sister's account; but afterwards when he had given proofs of his merit and abilities, he was beloved by Dionysius for his own sake: and among other favours he ordered his treasurers to furnish Dion with whatever money he demanded, but enjoined them to give him the same day an account of what they had delivered to him. Now, though Dion was before reputed a person of extraordinary genius, of a

noble mind, and great courage, yet all these excellent qualifications received a considerable improvement by Plato's happy arrival in Sicily. It was without doubt no human contrivance, but the direction of Providence, designing that this remote cause should afterwards occasion the recovery of the liberty of the Sicilians, and the subversion of the tyrannical government, that brought the philosopher out of Italy, and settled him at Syracuse. Dion soon gained his acquaintance, and though very young became the most considerable among his scholars, by his wonderful disposition to learning, and inclination to virtue, as Plato himself reports of him *, and his own actions sufficiently testify. For though his education under the tyrant had been mean and servile, though he had lived in a state of dependence, uncertainty, and hazard, had been accustomed to pride and ostentation, to the most extravagant luxury; and to that kind of life in which nothing is esteemed excellent and valuable but wealth and pleasure, yet no sooner had he imbibed the first principles of philosophy and of that science which points out the road to virtue, but his soul was inflamed with a generous ardour; and with the simplicity of a young man judging from his own propensity to goodness, that these doctrines would have the same effect upon Dionysius, he endeavoured to persuade him, and at last prevailed with him at a leisure-hour to admit and hear Plato. At their meeting, the subject of their discourse in general was virtue; but more particularly they disputed concerning fortitude, which Plato proved that tyrants, of all men, had the least pretence to; and

* It is in his seventh letter, where he says, "For my part when I conversed with Dion, who was then very young, when I explained to him such things as I thought were the best and most adapted to the nature of man, and exhorted him to the practice of them, I little thought I was then insensibly opening a way to the total subversion of the tyranny. For he was of a docile temper, and received with such readiness and eagerness whatever was said to him, that I never saw any young man worthy to be compared with him."

thence

thence proceeding to treat of justice, he asserted the happy estate of the just, and the miserable condition of the unjust. Here the king, touched to the quick, and not able to answer his arguments, would not endure to hear him out, but was highly displeased with the rest of the auditors, who with wonder and delight had listened to his discourses. At length, being exceedingly exasperated, he asked the philosopher in a great rage, *What business he had in Sicily?* To which Plato answered, *I came hither to seek an honest man:* It seems then, replied Dionysius, *you have lost your labour.* Dion imagined that the king's displeasure would rest there; but as Plato was in haste to be gone, he conveyed him suddenly aboard a galley in which Pollis the Lacedæmonian was returning to Greece. But Dionysius privately pressed Pollis by all means to kill Plato in the voyage, or at least to sell him for a slave: *For,* said he, *it will be doing him no injury, since, according to his own maxims, being a just man, he will be as happy in a state of slavery as he can be in a free condition.* Pollis therefore, as it is reported, carried Plato to Ægina, and there sold him to the Æginetes, who were then at war with the Athenians, and had made a decree, that whatever Athenian was taken on their coasts, should immediately be exposed to sale. Notwithstanding this Dion was in no less favour and credit with Dionysius than formerly, was intrusted with the most considerable employments, and sent on an honourable embassy to Carthage. Dionysius had so high an esteem for him, that he bore very patiently the liberty he took with him, and allowed him to speak his mind freely without any reserve. Of this we have an instance in the smart repartee he one day made to Dionysius, who ridiculing Gelo's government, and alluding to his name, said, *Gelo was [Gelos] the laughing-stock of Sicily;* while others seemed to admire and applaud this turn of wit, Dion very warmly

warmly replied, *Sir, you got the crown by being trusted for Gelo's sake; but for your sake no man will ever be trusted hereafter; for indeed Gelo made it appear that monarchy was the best of governments, and you have convinced us that it is the worst.*

Dionysius had three children by Doris, and four by Aristomache, two of which were daughters, named *Sophrosyne* and *Arete*. *Sophrosyne* was married to his eldest son Dionysius, whom he had by Doris the Locrian, and *Arete* to his brother Thearides; after whose death, Dion married his niece *Arete*. When Dionysius was sick, and like to die, Dion endeavoured to discourse with him in behalf of the children he had by Aristomache; but the physicians, designing to ingratiate themselves with the next successor, were too quick for him; for, as Timæus reports, the prince having asked for something to make him sleep, they prepared so strong a dose that it soon deprived him of his senses, and closed his sleep with death.

However, in the first council which the young Dionysius held with his friends, Dion discoursed so well upon the present state of affairs, and the measures that were most proper to be taken, that he made all the rest appear to be mere children in understanding; and by the freedom with which he delivered his opinion, he showed that they were rather slaves than counsellors, who timorously and disingenuously advised what would best please the young king, rather than advance his interest. But that which startled them most, was the proposal he made to avert the imminent danger they feared of a war with the Carthaginians, undertaking to sail immediately over into Africa, and if the king desired it, to settle a peace upon honourable terms; but if he rather inclined to war, he offered to fit out and maintain fifty galleys at his own expense. Dionysius admired the nobleness of his spirit, and received his friendly offer with great satisfaction. But

But the other courtiers, thinking this generosity reflected upon them, and fearing they might be lessened by his growing greatness, from thence took all occasions to incense the king against him, intimating that he designed by his power at sea to surprize the government, and by the help of those naval forces confer the supreme authority upon his sister Aristomache's children. But indeed the principal and most apparent cause of their envy and hatred to him, was his reservedness in conversation, and singularity in his way of living: for they had from the beginning insinuated themselves into the favour and familiarity of this young and ill-educated prince, by flattering him, by ministering to his appetites, and contriving to engage him perpetually in a giddy round of pleasure, in drinking, in amours, and other low and dissolute amusements. By this means the tyranny, like iron softened in the fire, seemed to the subjects to be more moderate and gentle, and to abate somewhat of its extreme severity; the edge of it being blunted, not by the clemency, but rather by the weakness of the young king, whose indolence increasing daily till it had infected his whole mind, soon dissolved and broke those adamantine chains, with which his father Dionysius said he had left the monarchy secured. It is reported of him, that having begun a drunken debauch, he continued it ninety days without intermission; in all which time no grave man appeared, no serious discourse was heard, but drinking, singing, dancing, buffoonery, and all sorts of licentious mirth, were the whole business of the court. It may easily be imagined therefore that they could not patiently bear the presence of Dion, who never indulged himself in such diversions and riotous frolics; for which reason they made his very virtues the subject of their calumnies, giving them the name of those vices which were nearest allied to them: they called his gravity pride, his sincerity

sincerity and freedom of speech insolence, the good advice he gave was construed as reprimand, and he was censured for neglecting and scorning those whom he would not accompany in their excesses. And to say the truth, he was naturally of a haughty humour, austere, reserved, and unsociable in conversation, which not only made his company unpleasant to a young king, whose ears were spoiled by flattery, but exposed him to the censure of many of his own most intimate friends, who though they loved him for the integrity and generosity of his temper, yet justly blamed his behaviour, as being rough and rigid, and quite unsuitable to the character of a man who was concerned in the management of political affairs; concerning which Plato afterwards wrote to him, and (as it were prophetically) advised him carefully to avoid *moroseness the companion of solitude*.

Though Dion, by reason of the present state of affairs, was very considerable and in great esteem, as being the only, or at least the chief support of the government, which was in a tottering condition; yet he well understood that he owed not his greatness to the king's friendship, but to the necessity of his affairs. And supposing the cause of this to be his ignorance and want of education, he endeavoured to engage him in a course of liberal studies, and to inspire him with a taste for those sciences which tend to regulate the temper and manners; hoping by this means to cure him of that dread which he had of virtue, and by degrees inure him to a complacency in what was good and laudable. Dionysius in his own nature was not the worst of princes; but his father fearing that if his mind should be improved and enlarged, and he should converse with wise and learned men, he might plot against him, and dispossess him of his kingdom, kept him in close confinement; where, for want of company, and from ignorance of better things, he busied himself

himself in making little chariots, candlesticks, joint-stools, tables, and the like wooden implements. For Dionysius the elder was so diffident and suspicious of all mankind, and so wretchedly timorous, that he would not suffer a barber to cut his hair with scissars, but made one of his attendants singe it off with a live coal. Neither were his brother or his son allowed to come into his apartment in the habit they wore, but they, as all others, were stript naked by some of the guard, and put on other cloaths before they were admitted into his presence. When his brother Leptines was once explaining the situation of a place, and took a javelin from one of the guard to trace out the plan of it, he was highly incensed at him, and caused the foldier that delivered him the weapon to be put to death. He declared, *That he was afraid of his friends because he knew that they were men of sense, and had rather command than be subject to a superiour.* He slew Marfyas, one of his captains, whom he had preferred to a considerable command, for dreaming that he killed him; supposing that the idea was suggested by some design which he had formed when he was awake. Yet this timorous man, who was thus wretched from his continual fears and anxieties, was very angry with Plato, because he would not allow him to be the most valiant of all men.

Dion, as we said before, seeing Dionysius the son defective in his understanding, and irregular in his manners, for want of good education, advised him to apply himself to study; persuading him earnestly to entreat Plato, the greatest philosopher in the world, to come into Sicily; and when he came, to commit himself to him, that by his instructions he might improve in virtue, and conform his mind to that divine exemplar of supreme truth and excellence, from whence is derived all the harmony and beauty conspicuous in the system of the universe; by which means he would procure great happiness

to himself and all his people, and would of a tyrant become a king; and his subjects won by his justice and moderation, would then willingly yield him that obedience as a father, which now they paid him by constraint as a despotic sovereign. *For fear and force, said he, a great navy, and a numerous guard of Barbarians, are not (as your father said) the adamantine chains which secure the regal power, but that love and affection of the subjects which is gained by clemency and justice; these softer bonds have much greater force to secure a permanent dominion than the galling shackles of constraint and tyranny. Besides, it is mean and dishonourable that a prince, while he so far surpasses others in the richness of his dress, and in the splendour and elegance of his house, furniture, and equipage, should not at all excel the vulgar in discourse and conversation, nor have his mind accomplished, as well as his body adorned in a manner suitable to his royal dignity.*

Dion frequently urging the king upon this subject, and as occasion offered repeating some of Plato's arguments, Dionysius grew impatiently desirous to have Plato's company, and to hear him discourse. He therefore immediately sent many letters to him at Athens, to which Dion added his entreaties. At the same time also several philosophers of the Pythagorean sect wrote to him from Italy, and requested him to come and undertake the direction of this young prince, whose mind was perverted by power, and reclaim him by the solid counsels of reason and philosophy. Plato, as he says himself, being ashamed to seem busy only in words, and slothful in action, and hoping, that if he could work a cure upon one man, the head and guide of the rest, he might remedy the distempers of the whole kingdom of Sicily, yielded to their requests.

But Dion's enemies fearing an alteration in Dionysius, persuaded him to recall from banishment one Philistus, a learned man indeed, but very skillful

ful in tyrannical policy, whom they designed to set in opposition to Plato and his philosophy. For Philistus from the beginning was a great instrument in promoting the tyranny, and being governour of the citadel, kept it a long time for that faction. There was a report, that he was familiar with the mother of Dionysius the elder, and that the tyrant was not altogether ignorant of it. But Leptines having two daughters by a married woman whom he had debauched, gave one of them in marriage to Philistus, without acquainting the king, who being enraged, put Leptines's mistress in prison, and banished Philistus, who thereupon fled to some of his friends at Adria; in which retirement it is probable he composed the greatest part of his history*; for he did not return into his country during the reign of that Dionysius. But after his death, as is before related, Dion's enemies occasioned him to be recalled home, as a man fit for their purpose, and a firm friend to the arbitrary government, which he immediately upon his return endeavoured to abet. At the same time calumnies and accusations against Dion were by others brought to the king; as that he held correspondence with Theodotes and Heraclides, to subvert the monarchy. For indeed it is likely he had hopes, by the arrival of Plato, to lessen the exorbitant power of Dionysius, and make him moderate and equitable in his authority; but if he continued averse to that, and were not to be reclaimed, he resolved to depose him, and restore the commonwealth to the Syracu-

* This Philistus was not only a person of singular knowledge in martial affairs, but he was likewise a great historian. He composed the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and that of Dionysius the tyrant in six. Cicero goes so far in his commendation as to say he might almost be styled *Thucydides the less, pene pusillus Thucydides*. It is true he never could arrive at Thucydides's dignity of style; but he made amends for that defect by his perspicuity. That which he was most to be blamed for was his zealous attachment to tyranny.

fans; not that he approved a popular government, but he thought it preferable to a tyranny, when a good aristocracy could not be procured.

This was the state of affairs when Plato came into Sicily. At his first arrival he was received with wonderful demonstrations of kindness and respect; for one of the king's richest chariots waited upon him when he came on shore. Dionysius himself sacrificed to the gods in thankful acknowledgment of the great happiness they had by the arrival of that philosopher conferred on his kingdom. The citizens also entertained great hopes of a speedy reformation. For at court they observed a modest decorum in their feasting, and a grave composure in their behaviour, and the king himself returned kind and obliging answers to all persons to whom he gave audience. Men were generally grown very desirous of learning, and eagerly intent upon the study of philosophy; so that all the apartments in the court itself, it is said, were like so many schools of geometricians full of the dust which those students make use of to describe their mathematical figures.

Not long after, at a solemn sacrifice in the castle, when the herald, according to custom, prayed for the long continuance of the present government, Dionysius standing by, said, *What, will you never leave off cursing me?* This sensibly vexed Philistus and his party, who conjectured, that if Plato, by so little acquaintance, had thus changed and transformed the young king's mind, he would by longer converse, and greater intimacy, get such power and authority, that it would be impossible to withstand him. They therefore no longer privately and separately, but jointly and in public, began all of them to rail at Dion, saying, that he manifestly charmed and bewitched Dionysius by means of Plato's eloquence, that when the king was persuaded voluntarily to part with the regency, and give up his authority, he himself might seize it, and settle it

it upon his sister Aristomache's children. Others seemed to resent it as a great indignity, that the Athenians, who formerly arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, and numerous land-army, but were routed and destroyed, without being able so much as to take the city of Syracuse, should now, by means of one sophist, overturn the whole empire of Dionysius, by persuading him to quit his guard of ten thousand spearmen, give up a navy of four hundred galleys, disband an army of ten thousand horse, and several times that number of foot, in order to seek in the academy an unknown and imaginary bliss, and to derive his happiness from the study of geometry, while in the mean time he resigned the substantial enjoyments of absolute power, of riches and pleasure, to Dion and his sister's children.

By these means at first Dion incurred the king's suspicion, and by degrees his apparent displeasure and aversion. A letter also was intercepted, which Dion had written to the Carthaginian agents, advising them, *when they treated with Dionysius concerning a peace, not to come to their audience, unless he were there; because then he would effectually dispatch their business according to their minds.* When Dionysius had showed this to Philistus, and, as Timæus relates, consulted with him about it, he over-reached Dion by a feigned reconciliation, pretending to receive him again to his favour. But leading him alone one day to the sea-side, under the castle-wall, he showed him the letter, and taxed him with conspiring with the Carthaginians against him. When Dion attempted to offer something in his own defence, Dionysius refused to hear him, and immediately forced him aboard a vessel, which lay there for that purpose, and commanded the sailors to set him ashore on the coast of Italy.

When this was publicly known, all men thought the action very tyrannical and cruel. All persons

about the court were exceedingly concerned for the sake of the women ; but the citizens of Syracuse began to take courage, expecting that the general discontent caused by Dion's disgrace, and the mistrust which others would now have of the king, might produce an alteration in the state. Dionysius perceiving this, and being very much concerned at it, endeavoured to pacify the women, and others of Dion's friends and relations ; assuring them, that he had not banished, but only sent him out of the way for a time, fearing that if he continued there, passion might prompt him to punish his obstinacy with greater severity. At the same time he allowed his friends two ships, and gave them liberty to put on board as much of his treasure and as many of his servants as they pleased, and transport them to him into Peloponnesus. For Dion was immensely rich, and little inferiour to the king himself in the splendour of his furniture, and manner of living. His friends having packed up every thing that was valuable, conveyed them to him, together with many rich presents which were sent him by the ladies and others of his acquaintance. Insomuch that the abundance of his wealth and treasure gained him great honour and respect among the Grecians ; and this opulence and grandeur of a person who was an exile, convinced them how great the power and magnificence of the tyrant must be.

As soon as Dion was sent away, the tyrant removed Plato into the citadel, designing, under colour of an honourable and kind reception, to set a guard upon him, lest he should follow Dion, and declare to the world in his behalf, how injuriously he had been treated. But now time and conversation (as wild beasts by use grow tame and tractable) brought Dionysius to endure Plato's company and discourse ; so that he began to love the philosopher, but with such an affection, as had something of the tyrant in it, requiring of Plato, that he should, in return
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of his kindness, love him only, and admire him above all other men; being ready to commit to his care the chief management of affairs, and even the whole government, upon condition that he would not prefer Dion's friendship before his. This extravagant affection was a great trouble to Plato; it being accompanied with petulant and jealous humours, like the fond passions of those who are desperately in love, with frequent quarrels, and as frequent submissions and reconciliations; for now he was beyond measure desirous to be Plato's scholar, and to proceed in the study of philosophy; yet he seemed still to have some regret, and to be ashamed of himself before those who endeavoured to divert him from this design, as if he were grown degenerate, and like to be spoiled and undone.

But a war about this time breaking out, he was obliged to send Plato away, but promised him before his departure to recall Dion the next summer. In this indeed he was not so good as his word; however, he remitted to him the produce of his estate, desiring Plato to excuse him for not keeping to the time he had fixed, by reason of the war; but assuring him, that as soon as he had concluded a peace, he would immediately send for Dion, whom in the mean time he desired to be quiet, and not to raise any disturbance, nor speak any thing ill of him among the Grecians. This Plato endeavoured to effect by keeping Dion with him in the academy, and busying him in his philosophical studies.

Dion lived in the city with Calippus, one of his acquaintance; but, for his diversion, he bought a seat in the country, which afterwards, when he went into Sicily, he gave to Speusippus, who of all his friends at Athens was his most constant companion; for Plato was desirous to soften the austerity of Dion, by blending it with the pleasantry, face-

tiouſneſs, and elegance of Speuſippus. For that he excelled in raillery, we are told by Timon in his ſatires.

Whilst Dion reſided at Athens, it happened to be Plato's turn to exhibit a public ſhow and defray the charge of a chorus of boys; but Dion took upon himſelf the management of it, and paid the whole expenſe; Plato giving him this opportunity to oblige the Athenians, as the good-will which Dion might acquire by it, would probably be greater than the honour which would have redounded to himſelf. Dion went alſo to ſee ſeveral other cities, where he converſed with men of the higheſt rank and greateſt ſkill in political affairs, and was publicly entertained by them. His converſation and manners were free from every thing rude or unbecoming, from all ſymptoms of tyrannical pride and luxury: in his whole behaviour, he ſhewed himſelf temperate, virtuous, and brave; and in his philoſophical and political diſcourſes learned and ingenious. By this means he gained the love and reſpect of all men, and in many cities had public honours decreed him; and the Lacedæmonians made him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the diſpleaſure of Dionyſius, though at that time he aſſiſted them conſiderably in their war againſt the Thebans.

It is reported, that Dion, upon an invitation, went to the houſe of Ptæodorus the Megarenſian, who was a very powerful and wealthy man; and when by reaſon of the great concourſe of people about his doors, who waited for the diſpatch of buſineſs, it was very difficult to get acceſs to him, Dion turning about to his friends, who ſeemed concerned and angry at it, ſaid, *What reaſon have we to blame Ptæodorus, who ourſelves uſed our viſitors no better when we were at Syracuse?*

Soon after, Dionyſius envying Dion, and being jealous of the intereſt he had among the Grecians, left off ſending him his revenues, and put the eſtate
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into the hands of his own stewards. But that he might obviate the ill-will and discredit, which upon Plato's account might accrue to him among the philosophers, he got into his court many who were reputed men of learning; and ambitiously desiring to surpass them all in their debates, he was forced (though sometimes very impertinently) to make use of what he had occasionally learned from Plato; and now he wished for his company again, repenting he had not made better use of it when he had it, and given no greater heed to his excellent precepts and discourses. Like a tyrant therefore, extravagant in his desires, and violent in his passions, on a sudden he was eagerly bent on recalling him; for which purpose he tried every method, and at last prevailed with Archytas and the other Pythagorean philosophers to be security for the performance of his promises, and to persuade him to return into Sicily; for it was Plato who first brought them acquainted with Dionysius, and established the right of hospitality between them.

These philosophers sent Archidemus on their own part to Plato, and at the same time Dionysius sent some galleys, and several of his friends to importune him to comply with his request. He likewise wrote to him himself, telling him in plain terms, *that Dion must never look for any favour or kindness, if Plato would not be prevailed with to come into Sicily; but upon his arrival he might be assured of whatever he desired.* Dion also was much solicited by his sister and his wife to prevail on Plato to gratify Dionysius in this request, that he might have no excuse for treating him with severity. So that Plato, as he says of himself, set sail the third time for Sicily,

Daring once more the terrible Charybdis.

His arrival gave great joy to Dionysius, and no less hopes to the Sicilians, who earnestly wished,
and

and endeavoured, that Plato might get the better of Philistus, and philosophy triumph over tyranny. Neither was he unbefriended by the women, who upon all occasions studied to oblige him. But he had with Dionysius such credit as no man else ever obtained; so that he was allowed to come into his presence without being examined or searched. Aristippus the Cyrenæan, having frequently seen the king offer Plato very considerable sums of money, which he constantly refused, said, *That Dionysius was liberal without danger of hurting his treasury; for to those who wanted much he gave very little, and offered a great deal to Plato, because he would take nothing.*

After the first civilities were over, when Plato began to discourse of Dion, he attempted to amuse him with dilatory excuses, which soon after begat feuds and disgusts, though for the present they were not publicly remarked; for Dionysius endeavoured as much as possible to conceal them, and by other civilities and honourable usage to draw him off from his kindness to Dion. Plato for some time did not divulge this perfidious dealing, and breach of promise, but bore with it, and dissembled his resentment. While matters stood thus betwixt them, and they thought they were unobserved and undiscovered, Helicon the Cyzicenean, one of Plato's followers, foretold an eclipse of the sun, which happened according to his prediction. For this he was much admired by the king, and rewarded with a talent of silver. Aristippus, jesting with some others of the philosophers, told them, he also had something extraordinary to prognosticate; which they entreating him to declare, *I foretel*, said he, *that Dionysius and Plato will in a very little time fall out.*

At length Dionysius sold Dion's estate, converted the money to his own use, and removing Plato from an apartment he had in the gardens of the
 • palace,

palace, placed him among his guards, who had long hated Plato, and wished to destroy him, supposing that he advised Dionysius to lay down the government, and disband his soldiers. When Archytas understood the danger Plato was in, he immediately sent a galley with messengers, to demand him of Dionysius; alleging, that he stood engaged for his safety, upon the confidence of which Plato came to Sicily. Dionysius, to palliate his secret hatred, before Plato departed, made great entertainments, and showed him all outward marks of kindness; but he could not forbear breaking out one day into this expression, *No doubt, Plato, when you are at home among the philosophers your companions, you will complain of me, and reckon up a great many of my faults.* To which Plato answered, smiling, *I hope we shall never be so much at a loss in the academy for subjects of discourse, as to talk of you.* Thus, they say, Plato was dismissed; but his own writings do not altogether agree with this relation.

Dion was very angry at this, and not long after declared himself an open enemy to Dionysius, having received some intelligence concerning his wife; which is hinted by Plato in a letter to Dionysius. The affair was this. After Dion's banishment, Dionysius sending back Plato, desired him to ask Dion privately, if he would be averse to his wife's marrying another man: for there was a report, (but whether it was true, or raised by Dion's enemies, is uncertain), that his matrimonial state was not agreeable to him, and that there was a coolness and indifference between him and Arete. Therefore when Plato came to Athens, and had discoursed upon the subject with Dion, he wrote a letter to Dionysius, in which he expressed every thing else plainly and intelligibly; but he mentioned this affair in covert and abstruse terms, that none but he might understand it; telling him, *that he had talked with Dion about the business, and that it was evident*

dent he would highly resent the affront, if Dionysius should attempt any such thing. At that time therefore, while there were yet any hopes of an accommodation, he made no alteration in his sister's situation, suffering her to live with Dion's son; but when all prospect of a reconciliation was at an end, and Plato, after his second return, was again sent away in displeasure, he then forced Arete against her will to marry Timocrates, one of his favourites; in this action coming short even of his father's justice and lenity. For when Philoxenus, who had married his sister Theste, being in disgrace, and his declared enemy, had fled for fear and left Sicily, he sent for his sister, and reproached her with being privy to her husband's flight, without declaring it to him: but she, fearless and unmoved, replied, *Do you believe me, Dionysius, so bad a wife, or so timorous a woman, that, having known my husband's flight, I would not have borne him company, and shared the worst of his fortunes? Indeed I was ignorant of it; for it had been better and more honourable for me to be called the wife of the exile Philoxenus, than the sister of the tyrant Dionysius.* It is said, the king admired her resolute answer; the Syracusans also honoured her for her virtue so much, that she retained her dignity and princely retinue after the dissolution of the tyranny; and when she died, the citizens, by public decree, attended the solemnity of her funeral. Though this be a digression, it is not altogether an useless one.

From that time Dion set his mind wholly upon war. Plato declined engaging with him in it from a regard to the hospitable entertainment he had received from Dionysius, and because of his advanced age. But Speusippus and the rest of Dion's friends assisted and encouraged him to undertake the deliverance of Sicily, which seemed to stretch out its hands to him, and was ready to receive him joyfully. For while Plato was at Syracuse, Speusippus

pus being oftener than he in company with the citizens, thoroughly understood how they were inclined. At first indeed they were afraid to speak freely to him, suspecting that he was set on by the king to ensnare them; but at length they placed an entire confidence in him. They generally agreed in their wishes and prayers, that Dion would undertake the design, and come, though without either navy, men, horses, or arms; that he would put himself aboard a ship, and lend the Sicilians only his person and name against Dionysius. This information from Speusippus encouraged Dion, who, that he might the better conceal his design, employed his friends privately to raise what men they could. Many statesmen and philosophers gave him their assistance; among whom were Eudemus the Cyprian, (on occasion of whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue on the soul), and Timonides the Leucadian; they also engaged on his side Miltas the Thessalian, a soothsayer, and his fellow-student in the academy. Of all that were banished by Dionysius, who were not fewer than a thousand, only twenty-five * joined with him, the rest for fear declining the undertaking. The general rendezvous was in the island of Zacynthus; there the army assembled, which did not amount in all to eight hundred men †; but they were men who had
signalised

* Diodorus says, thirty.

† "Who would ever have thought that a person with two transports only should get the better of a prince, who had at his command four hundred ships of war, a hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, stores of ammunition and provision in proportion, and treasure sufficient for the maintenance of such numerous forces; who besides all this had in his possession the most considerable of all the Grecian cities, where he was master of havens, arsenals, and citadels that were impregnable, and was besides strengthened with the most powerful alliances? The cause of Dion's unparalleled success was in the first place his courage and magnanimity, joined to the good will and affection of those for the sake of whose liberty he was engaged. But that which turned most to his service was the cowardice of the tyrant, and the disaffection of his subjects; all these circumstances concurring in the
same

signalised themselves in many and great engagements; they were well disciplined and inured to hardship; and for courage and conduct, the very flower of all the soldiery; and such as by their example would animate and encourage to action the numerous forces Dion hoped to have in Sicily. Yet these men, when they first understood the expedition was against Dionysius, were troubled and disheartened, blaming Dion, as a man, who, hurried on by a madness of rage and despair, threw both himself and them into certain ruin. Nor were they less angry with their commanders and those who had enlisted them, because they did not in the beginning let them know the design of the war. But when Dion had in an oration showed them the weak condition of the tyrant's government, and declared that he carried them rather for commanders than soldiers, the citizens of Syracuse, and the rest of the Sicilians, having been long ready for a revolt; and when Alcimenes, the most considerable man among the Achæans in birth and reputation, who accompanied him in the expedition, had harangued them to the same effect, they were satisfied.

It was now the midst of summer, the winds called *Etesian* * then prevailed, and the moon was at the full, when Dion prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and marched in procession to the temple at the head of his soldiers all completely armed. After the sacrifice he feasted them all in the public Circus or place of exercise of the Zacyn-

same instant produced such an amazing event, as may by posterity be thought incredible." *Diodor. lib. xvi.*

* The Etesian were like what we call the *Trade-winds*, and blew from certain points at certain seasons of the year. According to Strabo, they were sometimes the north, and sometimes the east winds; for having in his third book called them *Eurus*, he calls them *Boreas* in his seventeenth. Here without doubt they are to be taken for the east, *eurus subsolanus*, because they conveyed Dion from the isle of Zacynthus to Pachynus.

thians.

thians. They were struck with wonder when they saw so great a number of gold and silver vessels, and the tables furnished with such magnificence as seemed to surpass the fortunes of a private man; and they concluded, that one of his age, and master of so much treasure, would not engage in so hazardous an enterprise, without good hope of success, and certain assurance of sufficient supplies from his friends. After the libations and the customary prayers, the moon was eclipsed. This was not at all surprising to Dion, who understood the course of the sun and moon, and how the moon was overshadowed by the interposition of the earth between her and the sun. But it being necessary that the soldiers should be satisfied and encouraged, who were terrified at this appearance, Miltas the diviner standing up in the midst of the assembly, bid them not fear, but expect an happy event, because the gods foretold that something that was at present glorious and resplendent should be eclipsed and obscured. *Now nothing, said he, can be more resplendent than the tyranny of Dionysius; but its lustre will immediately be extinguished upon your arrival in Sicily.* Thus Miltas in public descanted on the accident: but when a swarm of bees had settled upon the poop of Dion's ship *, he privately told him and his friends, that he feared that the actions they were like to perform, though in themselves glorious, yet would be but of short continuance, and that the splendour of them after

* This was esteemed ominous not only by the Greeks, but by the Romans likewise, as we learn from Cicero, who in his oration *de haruspicio responso*, says, *Si examen apum ludis in scenam venisset, haruspices acciendos ex Hetruria putaremus. Videmus universi repente examina tanta servorum immissa in populum Romanum septum, atque inclusum, & non commovemur? Atque in apum fortasse examine nos ex Hetruscorum scriptis haruspices ut a servitio caveremus monerent, &c.* If a swarm of bees should come on a sudden, and appear on the stage during the exhibition of the spectacles, we should think it necessary to send for the Etrurian diviners. And now though we all behold with our own eyes so many swarms of slaves pouring in upon the Roman people pent up close in the theatre, are we in the least concerned at it? Perhaps these sages, upon examining their Tuscan directories, would from that swarm of bees advise us to guard against slavery, &c.

a sudden blaze, would in a moment be eclipsed. It is reported also that many prodigies happened to Dionysius at that time. An eagle snatching a javelin from one of the guard carried it aloft, and from thence let it fall into the sea. The water of the sea, that washed the walls of the citadel, was for a whole day sweet and potable; as many who tasted it experienced. Pigs were farrowed perfect in all their other parts, but without ears. The diviners declared that this portended a revolt and rebellion, and signified that the subjects would no longer give ear to the commands of the tyrant. They said that the sweetness of the water signified to the Syracusans a change from distress and calamity to a prosperous state. The eagle being the bird of Jupiter, and the spear an emblem of power and command; this prodigy was to denote, that Jupiter, the chief of the gods, designed the destruction and dissolution of the present government. These things are related by Theopompus in his history.

Dion's soldiers were embarked on board of two transports, which were tended by a third somewhat less, and two galleys of thirty oars. Beside the arms of his soldiers, he carried two thousand shields, a great number of darts and lances, and a vast quantity of all manner of provisions, that there might be no want of any thing in their voyage; because they resolved to commit themselves to the wind and keep out at sea, fearing to come near the shore, upon advice that Philistus rode at anchor in the bay of Apulia with a fleet ready to intercept them. Twelve days they sailed with a gentle gale; and on the thirteenth they arrived at Pachynus, a promontory of Sicily. There the pilot advised them to land presently; for if they quitted shore, and doubled the cape, they would run the risk of being tossed up and down for many days together in the expectation of a southerly wind in that summer-season. But Dion fearing to make a descent too
near

near his enemies, and being desirous to land at greater distance, passed by Pachynus. They had not failed long, before a violent north-wind drove them from Sicily. At the same time prodigious storms of thunder and lightning burst from the clouds, it being about the time of the rising of Arcturus; and these were attended with violent rains, and such tempestuous weather as greatly distressed the mariners, who were wholly ignorant what course they ran; till on a sudden they found they were driven to Cercina, an island on the coast of Africa, craggy, and full of dangerous rocks, where they narrowly escaped being dashed to pieces; but labouring hard with their poles, they with much difficulty kept clear till the storm ceased. Then lighting by chance on a vessel, they understood they were at that place which is called the head of the great Syrtis. Being now again disheartened by reason of a sudden calm, and beating to and fro without making any way, they had a southerly breeze from the shore, when they least expected the wind in that quarter, and scarce believed the favourable change. The gale increasing, and beginning to blow fresh, they spread all their sails, and praying to the gods, put out again to sea, steering directly for Sicily from the coast of Africa, and with a quick and easy passage arrived the fifth day at Minoa, a little town of Sicily, in the possession of the Carthaginians, of which, Synalus*, an acquaintance and friend of Dion, happened at that time to be governour. He not knowing it to be Dion and his fleet, endeavoured to hinder his men from landing, But they made their descent with their swords in their hands, without killing any of their opponents; for that Dion had strictly forbidden, because of his friendship for the governour: however they forced them to retreat, and following close, entered with them into the place, and took

* Diodorus calls him *Paralus*.

possession of it. As soon as the two commanders met, they saluted each other; Dion delivered up the place again to Sybalus, without having done any injury to it; and Sybalus entertained the soldiers, and supplied Dion with what he wanted. They were very much encouraged by the accidental absence of Dionysius at that time; for he was lately gone with eighty sail of ships to Italy. Wherefore, when Dion persuaded the soldiers to refresh themselves there, after their tedious and troublesome voyage, they would not be prevailed with, but being earnestly desirous to make the best use of that opportunity, urged Dion to lead them straight to Syracuse. Leaving therefore behind them as much of their baggage, and as many of their arms as were then of no use, to be conveyed to them by Sybalus upon occasion, they marched directly to Syracuse.

Two hundred horse of the Agrigentines, who inhabit near Ecnomus, came in and joined him in his march; and these were followed by the inhabitants of the city of Gela. The news of his approach soon reaching to Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, and was left commander in chief during his absence, immediately dispatched a courier to Dionysius with letters containing an account of Dion's arrival; while he himself took all possible care to prevent any commotions or tumults that might arise in the city, where all were in great suspense, but as yet continued quiet, fearing to give too much credit to what was reported. A very strange accident happened to the messenger who was sent with the letters; for being arrived in Italy, as he was travelling through the territory of Rhegium, hastening to Dionysius at Caulonia, he met one of his acquaintance, who * was carrying home some
part

* It was an act of religion for a man to carry home to his family some portion of the victims which had been sacrificed, as it was for another

part of a sacrifice. The man taking a piece of the flesh, proceeded in his journey with all speed: but having travelled hard a good part of the night, and being, through weariness, forced to take a little rest, he laid himself down in a wood near the road. A wolf scenting the flesh, came and seized it as it was fastened to the bag wherein were the letters directed to Dionysius, and carried away both that and the flesh together. The man awaking, and missing his bag, sought for it up and down a great while, and not finding it, resolved not to go to the king without his letters, but to conceal himself, and keep out of the way. Dionysius therefore came to hear of the war in Sicily from other hands, and that a good while after.

As Dion proceeded in his march, the Camari-næans joined his forces, and many of the territory of Syracuse revolting, came in to him. The Leontines and Campanians †, who, with Timocrates, guarded the Epipolæ, being deceived by a false report spread on purpose by Dion, that he intended first to attack their cities, left Timocrates, and hastened home to take care of their own concerns. This news being brought to Dion, while he lay near Acræ, he decamped by night, and came to the river Anapus, which is distant from the city about ten furlongs; there he made a halt, and sacrificed by the river, directing his devotions to the rising sun. The soothsayers declared, that the gods promised him victory; and they who were present, seeing him assist at the sacrifice with a garland on his head, all at once crowned themselves with garlands. There were about five thousand that joined his forces in their march ‡; who, though but ill provided

another to receive part of it from him if by chance he met him with it on the way.

† Some suspect that this word is erroneous, there being no such people known in Sicily as the Campanians; but Diodorus Siculus speaks of the Campanians near Ætna.

‡ Diodorus says that he very soon collected a body of twenty thousand

vided with such weapons as came next to hand, yet by their eagerness and courage supplied the want of better arms; and when Dion gave orders to march, they ran forward with shouts and acclamations of joy, encouraging each other to recover their liberty. The most considerable men, and better sort of the citizens of Syracuse, clad all in white, met him at the gates. The populace fell upon all that were of Dionysius's party, and principally searched for those called *Protagoidæ*, or *emissaries*, a set of impious wretches abhorred by gods and men, who made it their business to go up and down the city, thrusting themselves into all companies, that they might inform Dionysius what men said, and how they stood affected. These were the first who suffered, being knocked on the head by the rabble as they met with them.

Timocrates, not being able to join the garrison who kept the citadel, taking horse, fled out of the city, and in his flight filled the places where he came with fear and confusion, magnifying Dion's forces, lest he should seem upon a slight apprehension to have deserted the city. By this time Dion was come up, and appeared in the sight of the people. He marched first in a rich suit of armour, having his brother Megacles on one hand, and on the other Calippus the Athenian, both of them crowned with garlands. He was followed by a hundred foreign soldiers, who were his guard; next to these marched the rest of the army in a decent order, under the command of their respective officers. The Syracusans looked on this as a sacred procession, and august triumphal entry of liberty, and popular government restored to the city after forty-eight years banishment.

He was no sooner entered the Menitide gate but he caused the trumpets to sound, in order to command men, and that when he arrived at Syracuse, the number was not less than fifty thousand.

pose

pose the tumult, and quiet the people. As soon as silence was made, a herald proclaimed, *that Dion and Megacles, who were come to abolish the tyranny, declared the Syracusans and all other Sicilians to be free from the power of the tyrant.* And being desirous to address himself in a speech to the people, he marched up through that part of the city called *Achradina*. All the way as he passed along, the people on each side of the streets set out their vessels and tables, prepared their victims, and as he came before the doors threw flowers upon him, and offered up prayers to him as to their tutelar deity.

There was at the foot of the castle, and under the place called *Pentapyla*, a lofty sun-dial which Dionysius had set up *; from the top of that Dion made an oration to the people, persuading them to maintain and defend their liberty; and they, with the strongest expressions of joy and gratitude, created Dion and Megacles generals, chusing at their request twenty others of the most considerable citizens for their colleagues, of which number half consisted of such as had been banished by the tyrant, and were now restored by Dion.

At first the soothsayers looked on it as a happy omen that Dion, when he made his oration to the people, had under his feet, as a sign of subjection, that stately monument which Dionysius had erected. But because it was a sun-dial on which he stood when he was declared general, they expressed some fears, that the great actions he had performed might be subject to decline, and admit a sudden change of fortune.

After this Dion taking the castle of *Epipolæ*, released all the prisoners who lay confined there, and surrounded it with a strong wall. Seven days after

* The Phœnicians were the first who contrived a dial in the isle of Scyros before Homer's time. But that dial served only to denote the solstices. Three hundred years after Homer, Pherecydes made one that described the hours, after which they became very common.

Dionysius arrived from Italy, and entered the citadel from the sea. About the same time Dion received the carriages, with the arms and ammunition which he had left with Synalus, and distributed them among the citizens; the rest that wanted furnished themselves as well as they could, and expressed great courage and readiness for the service. Dionysius sent agents at first privately to Dion, to try what terms they could make with him. But he declaring, that what overtures they had to make must be in public, the Syracusans being now free, they then addressed themselves to the citizens, with fair words and specious promises, assuring them, that they should have abatements of their tributes and taxes, and not be compelled to serve in the wars, though undertaken by their own approbation and consent. The Syracusans laughed at these offers; and Dion answered, *That Dionysius must not think to treat with them upon any other terms, but resigning the government; which if he did, he would not forget how nearly he was related to him, but would assist him in whatever was just and reasonable.* Dionysius seemed to consent to this, and sent his agents again, desiring some of the Syracusans to come into the citadel, and consult with him for the good of the public, he being ready to make such proposals as he believed they could not but yield to, and he was equally willing to accept those which they had to offer him. Some persons therefore were deputed, such as Dion approved of; and the general report from the citadel was, that Dionysius would voluntarily resign his authority, and that he did it out of choice rather than compulsion. But this was only a stratagem, and crafty device to amuse the Syracusans; for he imprisoned the deputies that were sent to him, and the next morning by day-break, having distributed wine among his mercenaries to encourage them, he ordered them to fall out, and attack the wall that had been made by
Dion.

Dion. The assault being unexpected, and carried on with a great deal of courage and resolution by the Barbarians, they broke through the works, and with loud shouts fell upon the Syracusans so furiously, that they all fled except Dion's foreign troops, who, taking the alarm, hastened to their relief; though at first they knew not what to do, nor how to employ the aid they brought, by reason of the noise and tumult of the Syracusans, who in their precipitate flight pressed in upon them, and put their ranks in disorder. Wherefore Dion perceiving that his orders could not be heard, instructed them by his example, and charged into the thickest of the enemy. The fight near his person was fierce and bloody, for he being known, as well by the enemy as his own party, they ran with great noise and fury to the quarter where he fought. Though by reason of his age he was unfit for such an engagement, yet with great vigour and courage he charged all he met, cutting in pieces several of the enemy that withstood him, till he was wounded in the hand with a lance; his armour also scarcely resisting the blows he received in this close fight, and his shield being pierced through in many places by the darts and spears that were levelled at him, at length he fell to the ground; but he was immediately rescued and carried off by his soldiers. He left the command to Timonides, and mounting his horse, rode about the city, rallied those that fled, and commanding a detachment of the foreign soldiers out of Achradina, where he had posted them to guard that place, he brought them as a fresh reserve upon the enemy, who were tired with the heat of the action, and just ready to give over their design; for having hopes at their first sally to have retaken the city, when beyond their expectation they found such a brave resistance, they retreated into the castle. As soon as they gave ground the Greek soldiers pressed hard upon them, and pursued them
to

to the very walls. There were lost in this action seventy-four of Dion's men, and a very great number of the enemy. This being a signal victory, the Syracusans rewarded each of the foreign soldiers with a hundred minæ, and the soldiers themselves presented Dion with a crown of gold.

Soon after this there came messengers from Dionysius, bringing Dion letters from the women of his family; there was also one superscribed, *Hipparinus to his father Dion*; for this was the name of Dion's son, though Timæus says, he was, from his mother Arete, called *Areteus*; but I think credit is rather to be given to Timonides's report, who was his fellow-foldier and friend. The rest of the letters were opened and read in the presence of the Syracusans, and contained many solicitations and entreaties from the women. But the people out of respect to Dion would not allow that which seemed to come from his son to be opened in public. However, he insisted upon its being read. It proved to be from Dionysius himself, and was addressed in words to Dion, but in fact to the Syracusans; for though it had the form of a request and apology, yet it was really contrived as an accusation of Dion, and tended to make him suspected by the people. He reminded him of the zeal he had formerly shown for his government; he threatened those who were most dear to him, his sister, his son, and his wife; and then addressed him with the most passionate entreaties and most abject lamentations. But that which touched Dion most, was, that he earnestly desired him not to destroy the government, but to take it upon himself, not to give liberty to those men who always hated him, and would never forget their former resentments, but to keep the power in his own hands, and thereby ensure the safety of his friends and relations.

When this letter was read, the populace were not (as they ought in justice to have been) struck with

with admiration at the inflexible constancy and magnanimity of Dion, who withstood the tenderest calls of a private affection, from a regard to virtue and honour; on the contrary they from hence took occasion to fear and suspect that he lay under invincible obligations to be favourable to Dionysius; and therefore began already to think of a new general; and it was with peculiar joy that they received the news of Heraclides's arrival. This Heraclides was one of those whom Dionysius had banished; a man of good military talents, and well known by the considerable commands he had formerly under the king; yet a man of no constancy or resolution, but fickle in every thing, and least of all steady when he had either a rival or a colleague in any honourable command. He had a difference formerly with Dion in Peloponnesus, and thereupon resolved upon his own strength, and with what ships and soldiers he had, to make war upon Dionysius. When he arrived at Syracuse with seven galleys and three ships, he found Dionysius already close besieged, and the Syracusans elated with their success. He therefore immediately endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people; and indeed he had naturally a very insinuating address, and was well qualified to captivate the multitude, who love to be courted and flattered; and he succeeded the more easily in gaining their affections, because they were offended at the gravity of Dion, which they thought too majestic and haughty for a popular state; for success had made them so proud and insolent, that they now required to be treated with, and harangued, as a free people, before they had in reality obtained their freedom. Assembling therefore without any summons, they chose Heraclides their admiral; but when Dion came and complained, that, by conferring this trust upon Heraclides, they cancelled what they had formerly granted to him, (since he was no longer their general if an-

other

other had the command of the navy), they repealed their order, and, though much against their will, deprived Heraclides of his commission. When this business was over, Dion invited Heraclides to his house, and gave him a gentle reprimand, telling him, that he did not act well nor prudently, in contending with him upon a punctilio of honour, at a time when the least false step might be the ruin of their whole design. Then calling an assembly, he made Heraclides admiral, and prevailed with the citizens to allow him such a guard as they had before granted to himself.

Heraclides openly pretended great respect for Dion, acknowledged his obligation to him, and attended him in a submissive manner, as ready to receive his commands; but underhand he corrupted the populace, and encouraged such as were turbulent and mutinous, so that he involved Dion in perpetual disturbances, and created him much perplexity and disquiet. For if he advised to permit Dionysius to leave the citadel and retire in safety, he was censured as designing to deliver and protect him: if, to avoid giving the people any trouble or suspicion, he continued the siege, they cried out, he protracted the war, that he might keep his command the longer, and hold the citizens in subjection.

There was one Sofis, who was notorious in the city for his impudence and villany, and who thought that the perfection of liberty consisted in an unbounded insolence and licentiousness of speech. This fellow plotting against Dion, stood up one day in the assembly, and railed at the citizens for their folly, in not perceiving that they had exchanged a dissolute and drunken tyrant, for a sober and crafty master; and when he had thus openly professed his enmity to Dion, he departed. The next day he was seen running naked through the streets, as if he fled from some that pursued him, his head
and

and face being covered with blood. In this condition he entered the market-place, and told the people, that Dion's foreign soldiers had lain in wait for him and assaulted him, and then showed them the wound he had received in his head. Most of those present took his part, and exclaimed against the tyranny and cruelty of Dion, who took such bloody methods to stop the mouths of the people. But though this was an irregular and tumultuous assembly, Dion came to vindicate himself, and made it appear, that this Sosis was brother to one of Dionysius's guard, and that he was set on by him to raise a tumult in the city, Dionysius having now no way left for his security, but to make his advantage of their dissensions and distractions. The surgeons also having searched the wound, found that it was only superficial, and not made by a violent blow; for the wounds made with a weapon are most commonly deepest in the middle, but this was very slight, and all along of an equal depth; besides, it was not one continued wound, as if cut at once, but several incisions, in all probability, made at several times, as he was best able to endure the pain. There were some too who knew him, who brought a razor, and showed it openly to the assembly, declaring, that they met Sosis running in the street all bloody, and that he told them he had narrowly escaped with his life from Dion's soldiers, who had just then wounded him, and were still in pursuit of him; that they hastening to take the pursuers, could meet with no man, but spied this razor lying under a hollow stone near the place from which they observed he came. All these circumstances were strong against Sosis. But when, to confirm all this, his own servants came in and gave evidence, that he went out of his own house alone before break of day, with a razor in his hand, Dion's accusers retired, and the people, by a general vote,

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condemned Sofis to die, and were once again reconciled to Dion.

Yet they were still no less jealous of his soldiers, and the rather because the war was now carried on principally by sea, Philistus being come from Japygia with a great fleet to Dionysius's assistance : they supposed therefore that there would be no longer need of the Greek soldiers, who were all landmen, and armed accordingly, and rather in a condition to be protected by them, who were skilful seamen, and depended at present chiefly upon the strength of their shipping. They grew also more haughty from the advantage they got in an engagement by sea against Philistus, whom they used in a most barbarous and cruel manner. Ephorus relates, that when his ship was taken, he slew himself. But Timonides, who from the beginning of the war was with Dion, and attended him during all these transactions, writing to Speusippus the philosopher, relates the story thus ; that Philistus's galley running aground, he was taken prisoner alive, and first disarmed, then stripped, and exposed naked, though an old man, to all sorts of insult and contumely ; afterward they cut off his head, and gave his body to their children, bidding them drag it along the Achradina, and then throw it into the quarry. Timæus carries the indignity still further, and adds, that the boys tied him by his lame leg, and so drew him through the streets of the city ; while the Syracusans insulted over his carcase, seeing him tied by the leg, who had said, *It would not become Dionysius to be beholden to the swiftness of his horse to fly from his throne, but to be dragged from thence by the heels rather than quit it* ; though Philistus relates, that this was said to Dionysius by another, and not by himself. But Timæus takes occasion, and not without some appearance of justice, from Philistus's zealous and constant adherence to the tyranny, to load him with the most virulent reproaches. They

They indeed who were injured by him are in some measure excusable, if they carried their resentment so far as to express it in indignities to his dead body; but it is dishonourable for those who wrote his history after his death, and were no way wronged by him in his lifetime, but have had the advantage of his writings, to upbraid him in opprobrious and scurrilous language for those calamities which fortune sometimes brings even upon the best of men. On the other side, Ephorus is as extravagant in the encomiums he bestows on Philistus; for though he understands very well how to disguise base and unworthy actions with fair and plausible pretences, and is very elegant in his manner of writing; yet, with all his art, he can never acquit him of the imputation he lies under of being of all mankind the most zealous asserter of arbitrary government, and the fondest admirer of the luxury, power, riches, and alliance of tyrants. But he that neither praises the actions of Philistus, nor insults over his misfortunes, seems to me best to perform the part of an historian.

After Philistus's death, Dionysius sent to Dion, offering to surrender the citadel, all the arms, provisions, and soldiers, with full pay for them for five months, upon condition that he might go unmolested into Italy, there to continue, and to enjoy the revenues of Gyata, a large and fruitful tract of land in the territory of Syracuse, reaching from the sea-side to the middle of the country. Dion rejected these proposals, and referred him wholly to the Syracusans. They hoping in a short time to take Dionysius alive, dismissed his ambassadors without audience; upon which, leaving his eldest son Apollocrates to defend the citadel, and putting aboard those he loved best of his friends and the richest of his goods and treasure, he took the opportunity of a fair wind, and made his escape without being discovered by Heraclides the admiral.

The citizens loudly exclaimed against Heraclides for his neglect, and were ready to mutiny against him; but he, in order to divert and appease them, employed Hippo one of their orators to propose to them an equal division of the lands, alleging, that the beginning of liberty was equality, and that poverty and slavery were inseparable companions. Heraclides supported him in this project, and encouraged the faction against Dion, who vigorously opposed it. At last he persuaded the people to pass this law, and further to decree, that the pay of the foreign soldiers should be stopped, and that new commanders should be elected, that they might no longer be subject to Dion's severe and imperious discipline. The people eagerly desirous to recover at once from their slavery, which had hung upon them like a tedious distemper, began to exert their freedom unseasonably and precipitately, thus destroying what they endeavoured to set up, and hating Dion, who, like a good physician, endeavoured to keep the city in health by a sparing and regular diet.

The assembly therefore being summoned for the election of new officers, in the midst of summer, there happened all on a sudden terrible thunders, and other dreadful prodigies which continued for fifteen days together. These prodigies terrified the people, who were seized with a religious fear which hindered them from chusing those officers. But some few days after when the weather grew more temperate, the orators were for making an advantage of that calm, and proceeding to an election. But they had scarce begun when a draught-ox, though used to the croud and noise of the streets, without any provocation being enraged against his driver, and breaking his yoke, ran furiously into the theatre where they were assembled, driving out the people before him in great disorder: from hence, in a wild and furious manner, throwing down all
that

that stood in his way, he ran over that part of the city of which the enemies afterwards made themselves masters. But the Syracusans, not regarding all this, elected five and twenty captains, and among the rest Heraclides, and underhand tampered with Dion's men, promising, if they would desert him, and list themselves in their service, to make them citizens of Syracuse. But they, rejecting these offers, with great fidelity and courage took Dion under their protection, and placing him in the midst of their battalion, marched out of the city, not offering violence to any one, but severely upbraiding all they met with their baseness and ingratitude. The citizens who slighted them, because they were but few in number, and because they did not first attack them, supposing they might with ease overpower and cut them all off before they got out of the city, fell upon them in the rear. Here Dion was in a great strait, being necessitated either to fight against his own countrymen, or tamely suffer himself and his faithful soldiers to be cut in pieces. He therefore used many entreaties to the Syracusans, stretching out his hands to them, and showing them the citadel which was full of soldiers, and where great numbers of the enemy appeared on the walls to be spectators of this action. But no persuasions could stop the impetuous torrent of the multitude, who like waves in a storm were roused and agitated by the seditious breath of their orators. He commanded his men therefore not to attack them, but only to advance with shouts and clashing of their arms; which when the Syracusans saw, none of them durst stand their ground, but all fled immediately through the streets, though no one pursued them; for Dion immediately retreated with his men, and led them into the territories of the Leontines.

The very women laughed at the new captains for this cowardly retreat; who, to redeem their credit,

ordering the citizens to arms, pursued Dion, and came up with him as he was passing a river. Some of the horse began to skirmish; but when they saw Dion no longer calm and patient, nor disposed to bear these indignities with a paternal tenderness, but with all the signs of fury and resentment drawing up his men and preparing for battle, they presently turned their backs in a more cowardly manner than before, and fled to the city, with the loss of some few of their men.

The Leontines received Dion very honourably, gave money to his men, and made them free of their city. They sent messengers to the Syracusans, to require them to do the soldiers justice, and give them their pay; but they, in return, sent other messengers to accuse Dion. But when in a full assembly of the allies at Leontium the matter was heard and debated, the Syracusans appeared plainly to be in fault: but they refused to stand to the award of their confederates; for they were become wanton and insolent, being free from control, and having no commanders but such as stood in awe of the people, and were servilely devoted to them.

About this time Dionysius sent a fleet under the command of Nypsius the Neopolitan, with provisions and pay for the garrison. The Syracusans fought him, obtained the victory, and took four of his ships; but they made very ill use of their success; and, for want of good discipline, to express their joy, fell to drinking and feasting in an extravagant manner, with so little regard to their main concern, that when they thought themselves sure of taking the citadel, they lost the city itself. For Nypsius seeing them all in this disorder, spending days and nights in their revels and debauches, and their commanders well pleased with this riot, or at least not daring to contradict the drunken crew, took advantage of this opportunity, made a sally, and stormed their works; which when he had taken and destroyed,

destroyed, he left the city to the mercy of his soldiers, permitting them to use any violence they would towards all they met.

The Syracusans quickly saw their folly and misfortune, but could not, in the distraction they were in, so soon redress it. The soldiers made miserable havock in the city, putting the men to the sword, demolishing the fortifications, and dragging the women and children with lamentable shrieks and cries into the castle. The commanders gave all for lost, not being able to put the citizens, who were confusedly mixed with the enemy, in any tolerable posture of defence. While they were in this condition, and the Achradina in danger of being taken, they all turned their thoughts on him who alone was their last resort; but none of them had the courage to mention the name of Dion, so much were they ashamed of the folly and ingratitude of their behaviour towards him. But in this urgent necessity a voice was heard coming from some of the cavalry of the allies, crying out, *Send for Dion and his Peloponnesians from the Leontines.* No sooner had any one ventured to mention his name, and it was heard among the people, but they shouted for joy, and with tears prayed for his return, that they might once again see him at the head of them, whose courage and intrepidity in the worst of dangers they could never forget; and they remembered not only what an undaunted spirit he always showed himself, but also with what courage and confidence he inspired them when he led them against the enemy. They immediately therefore dispatched Archonides and Clefides from the auxiliaries, and Hellanicus with four more from the cavalry; who, posting with all the speed they could make, reached the city of the Leontines in the close of the evening. The first thing they did, was to leap from their horses, and fall at Dion's feet, with tears relating the sad condition the Syracusans

cusans were in. Many of the Leontines and Peloponnesians began to throng about them, guessing by their speed, and the manner of their address, that there was something extraordinary in their business.

Dion presently called an assembly, and the people being gathered together in a very little time, Archonides and Hellanicus came in among them, and in a few words described the distress of the Syracusans, and begged the foreign soldiers to forget the injuries they had received, and assist that unfortunate people who had suffered more for the wrong they had done, than they themselves who received it would (had it been in their power) have inflicted upon them. When they had made an end, there was a profound silence in the theatre. Dion then stood up, and began to speak, but a flood of tears stopped his voice. His soldiers were sensibly affected, and desired him to moderate his grief and proceed. When he had recovered himself a little, he spoke thus: *Peloponnesians, and confederates, I have called you here together to consult upon your own affairs, since it would ill become me to hesitate, or consider what is fit for me to do while Syracuse is sinking; for if I cannot save it from destruction, I will hasten thither, and be buried in the ruins of my country; but if you can resolve to assist us, the most inconsiderate and unfortunate of men, in this exigency, you will preserve your own work, the city of Syracuse *. But if your resentment against the Syracusans will not suffer you to pity and relieve them, may the gods reward you for your former fidelity and kindness to Dion; and remember, that as he did not desert you when you were injured, so neither would he abandon his fellow-citizens in their misfortunes.*

Before he had well ended his speech, the soldiers with a great shout testified their readiness for the

* According to Thucydides and Strabo, Syracuse was built by Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, who came from Corinth into Sicily in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad.

service,

service, bidding him march immediately to the relief of the city. The Syracusan messengers embraced them, praying the gods to shower down blessings upon Dion and the Peloponnesians. When the noise was pretty well over, Dion gave orders that all should go to their quarters, to prepare for their march, and, having refreshed themselves, come completely armed and assemble in the place where they now were; for he resolved to march that very night.

In the mean time, Dionysius's soldiers, as long as the day continued, ransacked the city, and did all the mischief they could; but when the night came on, they retired into the citadel, having lost a few of their number. This small respite restored courage and confidence to the factious demagogues of the city, who flattering themselves that the enemy would rest content with what they had done, persuaded the people again *to pay no regard to Dion, and if he came with the foreign soldiers, not to admit him; they advised them not to yield to these strangers the superiority in honour and courage, but to save their city, and defend their liberties themselves.* The generals therefore sent new messengers to Dion, to forbid him to advance; but the cavalry and the principal citizens sent others to him, to desire him to hasten his march. For this reason he slackened his pace, and came forward but slowly. When night came on, the faction that was against him set a guard upon the gates of the city, to hinder him from entering.

But Nypsius making another sally out of the citadel with far greater numbers and more fury than before, quite ruined as much of the rampart as was left standing, and then began to sack and ravage the city. The slaughter was now very great, not only of the men, but of the women also and children; for the soldiers did not so much regard the plunder as endeavour to destroy and kill all they met. For
Dionysius

Dionysius despairing to regain the kingdom, and mortally hating the Syracusans, determined to bury his lost empire in the ruins of the city. His men, therefore, before Dion's succours arrived, resolved to destroy the city the quickest way by laying it in ashes; accordingly they set fire to what was near at hand with torches and fire-brands, and to what was more distant with flaming arrows shot from their bows. The citizens in great distraction fled every way before them. They who to avoid the fire forsook their houses, were taken in the streets, and put to the sword: they who betook themselves for refuge into the houses, were forced out again by the flames. Many were burnt, and many killed by the fall of the houses. This fresh misfortune by general consent opened the gates for Dion. He had not made any extraordinary haste after he received advice that the enemies were retreated into the citadel. But early in the morning some horsemen brought him the news of another assault; and soon after some of those who before opposed his coming, fled to him, to entreat him to hasten to their relief. The fire and desolation increasing, Heraclides sent his brother, and after him his uncle Theodotes, to beg him to help them, because now they were not able to make any longer opposition, he himself being wounded, and the greatest part of the city consumed.

Dion heard this news at about sixty furlongs distance from the city. When he had acquainted the soldiers with the exigency, and exhorted them to behave with resolution, the army no longer marched, but ran forwards, and by the way were met by many persons one after another, who begged them to quicken their pace. By the wonderful eagerness of the soldiers, and their extraordinary speed, Dion quickly came to the city, and entered by the place called *Hecatompodon*, sending his light troops immediately to charge the enemy, that,

that, upon the sight of them, the Syracusans might take courage. In the mean time he drew up his heavy-armed foldiers, and as many of the citizens as came in and joined him, dividing them into a considerable number of small bodies of greater depth than breadth, that he might terrify the enemy, by attacking them in several quarters at once. He appeared in the streets advancing at the head of his men to engage the enemy, and a confused noise of shouts, congratulations, vows, and prayers was raised by the Syracusans, who now called Dion their deliverer, their tutelar deity, and his foldiers their brethren and fellow-citizens. At this time there was not one among them so selfish and fond of life as not to be more sollicitous for Dion's safety than his own, or that of all his fellow-citizens put together. So daringly did he march before them to meet the danger, through blood and fire, and over heaps of dead bodies that lay in his way.

And indeed the posture of the enemy was in appearance very terrible ; for they were animated by rage and despair, and had posted themselves along the demolished works, which made the approach to them very hazardous and difficult. Yet that which discouraged Dion's men the most was the apprehension they were in of the fire, which made their march very troublesome and painful ; for they were surrounded by the flames which were consuming the houses on all sides of them, were obliged to walk upon burning ruins, and through clouds of ashes and smoke, and were every minute in danger of being overwhelmed with the fall of walls and buildings ; however they laboured hard to keep close together, and maintain their ranks. When they came near to the enemy, only a few could engage at a time, by reason of the narrowness of the place, and the inequality of the ground. But at length fighting with great bravery, and being encouraged

couraged by the shouts of the Syracusans, they routed Nypsius's men, who most of them escaped into the citadel, which was near at hand ; as many of them as could not get in, were pursued by the soldiers as they were scattered about, and put to the sword. The present exigence did not suffer the citizens to reap the benefit of their conquest in such mutual congratulations and expressions of joy as become the victorious ; for now all were busily employed to save what houses were left standing, and though they laboured hard all night, it was with great difficulty that they extinguished the fire.

The next day not one of the popular haranguers durst stay in the city, but all of them, knowing their own guilt, by their flight confessed it, and secured their lives. But Heraclides and Theodotes voluntarily surrendered themselves to Dion, acknowledging, *that they had wronged him, and begging he would be kinder to them than they had been to him ; adding, how much it would be for his honour, who was unequalled in every other virtue, to moderate his anger, and to pardon the ungrateful, who now confessed that they were surpassed by him in virtue and courage, the very things in which they had contended with him for the superiority.* Though they thus addressed themselves to him, his friends advised him not to pardon such turbulent and malicious men, but to leave them to the mercy of his soldiers, and utterly root out of the commonwealth the ambition of popularity, a disease not less outrageous and fatal than tyranny itself. But Dion endeavoured to pacify them, telling them, *That other generals employed their thoughts and designs chiefly about war ; but that he had long studied in the academy how to subdue in his mind anger, envy, and emulation ; that it is no proof of this victory to be obliging and kind to our friends and to good men, but to be indulgent and reconcileable to those who have injured us ; that he was resolved to show that he did not so much*
excel

excel Heraclides in ability and conduct, as in justice and clemency, wherein to have the advantage is to excel indeed: whereas the honour of victory in war, said he, is never entire; for fortune will be sure to claim her share, though no man pretend to rival the conquerour. What if Heraclides be perfidious, malicious, and envious, must Dion therefore sully his virtue by a passionate resentment? For though the laws determine it to be juster to revenge, than do an injury; yet it is evident, that both originally proceed from the same infirmity of human nature: the malignity of men, though hard to be subdued, is not so stubborn and invincible, but it may be overcome by kindness, and gradually softened by repeated obligations. Upon these considerations Dion pardoned Heraclides and dismissed him.

And now resolving to repair the wall about the citadel, he commanded each of the Syracusans to cut a palisado, and bring it to the works; and then dismissing them to refresh themselves, and take their rest, he employed his own men all night, and by morning had finished his line of circumvallation; so that both the enemy and the citizens next day wondered to see such a work completed in so short a time.

As soon as he had buried the dead, and redeemed the prisoners who were two thousand in number, he called a public assembly. There Heraclides made a motion, that Dion should be declared general at land and sea. The nobility approved of this, and desired the commonalty to assent. But the sailors and artificers tumultuously opposed it, being unwilling that Heraclides should be deprived of his command of the navy; for though they knew him to be otherwise a bad man, yet they believed he would be more compliant with the populace than Dion, and readier to gratify their inclinations. Dion therefore submitted to them in this, and consented that Heraclides should continue admiral. But when they began to press an equal dis-

tribution of lands and estates, he opposed it, and repealed all the decrees they had formerly made upon that affair, by which he exceedingly displeased them. Heraclides took his advantage of this; and being at Messana, he harangued the soldiers and sailors that were with him, accusing Dion of a design to make himself absolute: and at the same time he held a private correspondence with Dionysius by means of Pharax a Spartan. When the nobility of Syracuse had intimation of this, there arose a sedition in the army, and in consequence of that the city was reduced to great extremity for want of provisions. Dion now knew not what course to take, being blamed by all his friends, for having strengthened against himself such an untractable, malicious, and perverse man as Heraclides.

Pharax at this time lay encamped at Neapolis, in the territory of Agrigentum. Dion therefore drew out the Syracusans, but with an intent not to engage him, till he saw a fit opportunity. But Heraclides and his seamen exclaimed against him, saying, *That he delayed fighting on purpose, that he might the longer continue his command*; so that, much against his will, he was forced to an engagement, and was beaten. His loss indeed was inconsiderable, and his defeat was owing more to the misunderstanding in his own army than the courage of the enemy. He therefore resolved upon a second engagement; and animating his men, and encouraging them to redeem their credit, he drew them up accordingly. But in the evening he received advice, that Heraclides with his fleet was under sail for Syracuse, having resolved to possess himself of the city, and shut him out. Upon this intelligence, he made a draught of the most forward and determined among the cavalry, and rode all night with such diligence, that he got thither by nine the next morning after a march of seven hundred furlongs. Heraclides, though

though he made all the fail he could, yet coming too late, tacked about, and stood out again to sea. Whilst he was unresolved what course to steer, he accidentally met Gæfylus the Spartan, who told him that he was sent from Sparta to command in chief in Sicily, as Gylippus had done formerly. Upon this declaration Heraclides readily joined with him, and boasted of this acquisition to his allies, thinking that he had got a kind of antidote against Dion's power. Hereupon he sent a herald to Syracuse, ordering the citizens to receive the Spartan for their general: Dion returned answer, *That the Syracusans had generals enow among them, and that if it was necessary that a Spartan should command them, they needed no other than himself, he having been made a citizen of Sparta.* When Gæfylus saw he had lost his hopes of being general, he landed, and reconciled Heraclides to Dion, making Heraclides confirm his engagements by the most solemn oaths, and undertaking himself to punish him for his perfidy, if he failed in the performance of them.

The Syracusans then laid up their navy, which was at present of little use to them, and, beside the great expence of it, continually furnished an occasion for dissensions between the generals; at the same time they continued the siege, and built another wall round the citadel. The besieged receiving no succours, and their provisions failing, began to mutiny; so that the son of Dionysius being in despair, capitulated with Dion, offering to deliver up the citadel with all the arms and other provisions, on condition he might have five galleys, and be allowed to retire in safety with his mother and sisters; and this being granted by Dion, he sailed with them to Dionysius. There was scarce a man in the city but went to behold the joyful sight; and they were even angry with those who happened to be absent, and could not be witnesses of that happy day, and see how gloriously the sun now shined

upon the Syracufans, who were delivered from slavery and oppreffion. This flight of Dionyfius being one of the greateft and moft remarkable examples of fortune's inconfancy, that any hiftory mentions, how extraordinary may we imagine their joy to be? and how great their pride, after they had fubverted the moft abfolute tyranny that ever was, and that by means fo flight and inconfiderable?

When Apollocrates was under fail, and Dion going to take poffeffion of the citadel, the women could not ftay till he had entered, but ran to meet him at the gate. Ariftomache led Dion's fon, and Arete followed after weeping, fearful and dubious how to falute or addrefs her husband, becaufe fhe had fo long lived with another man. Dion firft embraced his fiftter, then his fon; after which Ariftomache prefenting Arete to him, faid, *O Dion, your banifhment made us all equally miferable; and your return and victory has delivered us all from our sorrows, except her, whom I, to my great unhappinefs, faw compelled to be another's, while you were yet alive. Fortune has now given you the fole difpofal of us; how will you determine concerning her in this her diftreffful fituation? Or in what relation muft fhe falute you, as her uncle, or her husband?* This fpeech of Ariftomache's forced tears from Dion, who with great tendernels and affection embraced his wife, gave her his fon, and defired her to retire to his own houfe, where he intended to refide. For he delivered up the citadel to the Syracufans.

Though all things now had fucceeded to his wifh, yet he refolved not to enjoy any of the advantages of his good fortune before he had gratified his friends, rewarded his allies, and given his fellow-citizens and the foreign foldiers fome marks of his favour and efteem; his generofity herein exceeding his ability. He himfelf was content to live in the moft plain and frugal manner; for which he

he was universally admired. For though not only Sicily and Carthage, but all Greece looked upon him as the happiest and greatest of men, and as inferiour to no general in valour and success; yet in his garb, his attendance, and table, he seemed as if he rather lived with Plato in the academy, than among soldiers and officers, who love to fare luxuriously every day, and esteem debauchery and excess a necessary refreshment after the toils of war, and a proper compensation for the dangers they have passed. Plato indeed wrote to him, *that the eyes of all men were now upon him*; but he seems to have fixed his eye upon one particular place of one city, *The Academy*, and to have considered, that those who were his spectators and judges there regarded not his great actions, his courage, or his victories, but watched to see how temperately and humbly he could bear his prosperity, and with what moderation he could behave in that honourable and happy condition. Neither did he remit any thing of his wonted reservedness in conversation, or austere behaviour to the people, though condescension and civility were necessary for his present affairs, and though Plato, as we said before, reprimanded him on this account, and told him that *moroseness was the companion of solitude*. But certainly he was naturally an enemy to complaisance; and besides, he had a design to reform the Syracusans, who were grown very capricious, dissolute, and licentious. For Heraclides began again to oppose him; and being sent for one day by Dion to the council, he sent word he would not come there, nor consult otherwise than as a private citizen, and in a public assembly. Soon after he impeached Dion, because he had not demolished the citadel, and because he had hindered the people from opening Dionysius's tomb, and throwing out the dead body; he accused him also for sending to Corinth for counsellors and assistants in the go-

vernment, and thereby neglecting and flighting his fellow-citizens. And indeed he had prevailed with some Corinthians to come to him, hoping by their means and presence the better to settle that government he intended; for he designed to restrain the unlimited power of the people, (which indeed is not a government, but, as Plato calls it, a shop or warehouse of all sorts of governments*), and to establish a constitution upon the Lacedæmonian and Cretan plan, wherein there would be a mixture of the regal and popular government, and Aristocracy would always prevail, and preside in affairs of the greatest importance; for he saw the Corinthians were chiefly governed by the nobles, and that the people were but little concerned in public business. And knowing that Heraclides would be his most considerable adversary, and that he was always a turbulent, fickle, and factious man, he listened to the advice of those who were for killing him, though he had formerly prevented them from putting that design in execution. Accordingly they broke into his house, and murdered him. His death was much resented by the citizens: but when Dion made him a splendid funeral, followed the dead body accompanied with all his soldiers, and pronounced an oration to the people, they were mollified, and forgave him, for they perceived that it would have been impossible to have kept the city quiet, as long as Dion and Heraclides were competitors in the government.

* The place Plutarch has here in view is in the eighth book of Plato's republic, where that philosopher makes it appear that in a pure democracy every man lives as he pleases; and that as women and children delight in cloaths of all sorts of colours, there are some who for the same reason delight in that sort of government. There a man may pick out what form pleaseth him best, because in that alone all are comprehended. It is a sort of fair, or public sale of governments, ὥσπερ εἰς παλινώλιον ἀφικομένα πολιτείων.

Dion

Dion had a friend called *Calippus*, an Athenian, who, as Plato says, grew familiar with him, not upon the merit of his learning, but because he was introduced by him into some mysterious ceremonies of their religion, and so contracted an accidental acquaintance. His man was all along with him in the army, and was highly esteemed by him, being the first of his friends who marched by his side into Syracuse with a garland upon his head, and having distinguished himself by his courage in every action. He finding that Dion's best and most considerable friends were cut off in the war, that Heraclides was now dead, and the people without a leader, and that the soldiers had a great kindness for him, formed a most villanous and detestable design of murdering his friend and benefactor, by which he hoped to get the chief command in Sicily; and some say that he was bribed by the enemy with twenty talents to destroy Dion. For this purpose he engaged several of the soldiers in a conspiracy against him; and his plot was carried on in a most wicked and artful manner. He daily informed Dion of what he heard, or pretended to hear the soldiers say against him; whereby he gained that credit and confidence, that he was allowed by Dion to converse privately with whom he would, and talk freely against him in any company, that he might discover who were his secret enemies. By this means Calippus in a short time assembled about him all the seditious and discontented people in the city; and if any one who would not be drawn in informed Dion that he had been tampered with, he was not troubled or concerned at it, believing that Calippus did it in compliance with his direction.

While this conspiracy was on foot, a strange and dreadful apparition was seen by Dion. As he was sitting one evening very thoughtful in a gallery in his house, hearing a sudden noise, he turned about, and saw at the end of the room (for it was not yet dark)

dark) a tall woman, in her countenance and garb like one of the furies as they are represented on a theatre, with a broom in her hand sweeping the floor. Being very much amazed and terrified, he sent for some of his friends, and told them what he had seen, entreating them to stay with him, and keep him company all night; for his mind was quite disordered with fear, and he apprehended that if he were left alone, the spectre would again appear to him; but he saw it no more. A few days after, his only son, who was almost grown up, upon some displeasure he had taken on a childish and frivolous occasion, threw himself headlong from the top of the house, and killed himself.

While Dion was under this affliction, Calippus still more and more urged on the conspiracy, and spread a rumour among the Syracusans, that Dion, being now childless, was resolved to send for Dionysius's son, Apollocrates, who was his wife's nephew, and sister's grandson, and to make him his heir and successor. By this time, Dion, and his wife and sister began to suspect what was doing, and were from all hands confirmed in the belief of the plot. Dion, as it is probable, being troubled for Heraclides's murder, which was like to be a stain upon his honour, and a disgrace to the glorious actions of his life, in great anxiety and disquiet declared, he had rather die a thousand times, and open his breast himself to the assassin, than live not only in fear of his enemies, but in suspicion of his friends.

Calippus seeing the women very inquisitive into this affair, and fearing the event, came to them, utterly denying it with tears in his eyes, and offering to give them whatsoever assurances of his fidelity they desired. They required, that he would take what was called the *solemn oath*, which was after this manner. The person who was to take it
went

went into the temple of Ceres and Proserpine; after the performance of some ceremonies, he was clad in the purple vestment of the goddess, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, took his oath. Calippus did as they required, and forswore the fact. But he showed such contempt for those goddesses, that he staid till the festival of Proserpine, by whom he had sworn, and then committed his intended murder, thinking perhaps that the solemnity of the day could add little to his guilt, as the goddesses would have been in the highest degree offended at his impiety had he murdered Dion on any other day, since he himself was the person who initiated him in the sacred mysteries.

There were a great many in the conspiracy; and as Dion was at home with several of his friends in the room where he used to entertain them, some of the conspirators surrounded the house without, and others secured the doors and windows. The assassins were Zacynthians, who went in to him in their ordinary habit unarmed. They who were without shut the doors, and kept all fast. The murderers fell upon him, endeavouring to stifle him; but when that could not be effected, they called for a sword in order to dispatch him; but none durst open the door. There were a great many within with Dion; but every one supposing that by giving him up, he should save himself, no man ventured to assist him. When they had waited a good while, at length Lycon a Syracusan reached a short sword in at the window to one of the Zacynthians, who immediately stabbed Dion, who, like a victim at the altar, was already stunned and in a manner senseless.

After this they confined his sister, and wife, who was then big with child. This unhappy woman fell in labour in the prison, and was delivered of a son, whom they both undertook to preserve, having first gained the consent of the guards, which

was

was not difficult, because Calippus began already to find himself much embarrassed and distressed.

At first after the murder of Dion, he was in a very splendid situation, and had the sole government of Syracuse in his hands. Nay, he presumed to write even to the Athenians, whom most of all he ought to have dreaded next to the immortal gods, polluted as he was with so black a murder. But it has been truly observed of that city, *That the good men she breeds are the most excellent, and the bad the most desperately wicked; as the soil of Attica produces the most delicious honey, and the most deadly poison.* Calippus did not long continue to bring a reproach on fortune and the gods for suffering a man to obtain riches and power by such enormous crimes, but quickly received the punishment he deserved. For going to take Catana, he lost Syracuse; whereupon they report he said, *He had lost a city, and got a cheese-grater* *. Then attempting Messina, he had most of his men cut off, and among the rest, Dion's murderers. When no city in Sicily would admit him, but all hated and rejected him, he went into Italy, and took Rhegium; where being necessitous, and not able to maintain his soldiers, he was killed by Leptines and Polyperchon, and (as it happened) with the same sword with which Dion had been assassinated; for it was known by the size, being but short, as the Spartan swords commonly are, and by the workmanship which was very curious and elegant. Thus Calippus received the reward of his villanies.

When Aristomache and Arete were released out of prison, Icetes, one of Dion's friends, took them to his house, and for a while entertained them with great tenderness and fidelity. Afterwards, howe-

* This instrument was called *Patane*, instead of which the common people pronounced it *Catane*, to which Calippus alluded on this occasion.

ver, being persuaded by Dion's enemies, he provided a ship, and pretended to send them into Peloponnesus, but commanded the sailors, when they came out to sea, to kill them, and throw them overboard. Others say, that they and the infant were thrown alive into the sea. This man also escaped not the due recompense of his wickedness; for he was taken by Timoleon, and put to death; and the Syracusans, to revenge Dion, slew his two daughters; of which I have discoursed more particularly in the life of Timoleon.

THE

T H E
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MARCUS BRUTUS.

MArcus Brutus was descended from that Junius Brutus, to whom the ancient Romans erected a statue of brass in the capitol, among the images of their kings, with a drawn sword in his hand, in remembrance of his courage and resolution in expelling the Tarquins. But that ancient Brutus was of a severe and inflexible nature, (like steel of too hard a temper), and not at all softened by study or education; nay he suffered himself to be so far transported by his enmity to tyrants, that, for conspiring with them, he put to death even his own sons. But this Brutus whose life we now write, having to the goodness of his disposition joined the improvements of learning and philosophy, and having to his natural sedateness and gentleness added that vigour and activity which is the effect of constant application to public business, seems to have been of a temper exactly framed for virtue; insomuch that they who were most his enemies, upon the account of his conspiracy against Cæsar, if in that whole affair there was any honourable or generous action done, refer it wholly to Brutus, and lay whatever was odious and cruel to the charge of Cassius, Brutus's relation and friend,

friend, but not at all like him in simplicity and integrity of manners. His mother Servilia was of the family of Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Mælius had excited the people to a sedition, and designed to have made himself king, taking a dagger under his arm, went into the Forum, and upon pretence of having some private business with him, came up close to him, and as he bent his head to hear what he had to say, stabbed him with his dagger *. This account of his descent by the mother's side, is universally allowed; but as for his father's family, they who for Cæsar's murder bore any hatred or ill-will to Brutus †, will not allow his descent from that Brutus who expelled the Tarquins, there being none of his race left, after the execution of his two sons; but they say that he was a Plebeian, descended from one Brutus, some great man's steward, and of a mean family, which but very lately was raised to any office or dignity in the commonwealth. But Posidonius the philosopher writes, that it is true indeed what history relates, that two of the sons of Brutus, who were grown up, were put to death, but that a third, yet an infant, was left alive, from whom the family was propagated down to Marcus Brutus; and further, that there were several famous persons of this house in his time, and of his own acquaintance, whose countenances very much resembled the statue of Junius Brutus. But of this subject enough.

Cato the philosopher was brother to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, and he it was whom of all the Romans his nephew most admired, and studied to

* Livy relates this history after a more probable manner, *lib. iv. sect. 14.* And we are assured by some historians, that Servilius, who was at that time general of the horse, slew Mælius by order of the dictator Quintius Cincinnatus. This happened near four hundred years before the murder of Cæsar.

† Of this number is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who does not deny it out of any prejudice against Brutus, but upon the authority of the most accurate historians. *Vid. lib. v.*

imitate ; and he afterwards married his daughter Porcia. Of all the sects of the Greek philosophers, though there was none of which he had not been a hearer, and in whose doctrines he had not made some proficiency, yet he chiefly esteemed the Platonists. He had no great opinion either of the new, or middle academy, but applied himself wholly to the study of the ancient. For this reason he was all his lifetime a great admirer of Antiochus, of the city of Ascalon, and took his brother Ariston into his own house for his friend and companion, a man inferior indeed in learning to many of the philosophers, but in prudence, modesty, and sweetness of temper, equal to the best. As for Empylus, whom he himself and his friends often mention in their epistles, as one who lived with Brutus, he was an orator, and has left behind him a short but well-written history of the death of Cæsar, entitled *Brutus*.

He was a good speaker in Latin, and had attained such a degree of skill in it, that he acquitted himself well both in haranguing his soldiers, and in pleading at the bar. In Greek he was remarkable for affecting the sententious and short Laconic way of speaking ; which appears from some passages in his epistles ; as when in the beginning of the war he wrote thus to the Pergamenians : *I hear you have given Dolabella money ; if you gave it willingly, you must own you have injured me ; if unwillingly, show it by giving willingly to me.* And another time to the Samians : *Your deliberations are hasty, your actions slow ; what think ye will be the end ?* And of the Patareans, he writes thus : *The Xanthians, rejecting my kindness, have made their country their grave in the frenzy of their despair ; the Patareans, confiding in me, have lost nothing of their former liberty ; it is in your option to imitate the prudence of the Patareans, or to suffer the fate of the Xanthians.* And this is the style wherein his most remarkable letters were usually written.

While

While he was yet but a very young man, he accompanied his uncle Cato to Cyprus, whither he was sent against Ptolemy. But as soon as Ptolemy had killed himself, Cato being detained by some necessary business in the isle of Rhodes, sent one of his friends named Caninius, to take care of the king's treasure; and afterwards suspecting his fidelity, he wrote to Brutus to sail immediately to Cyprus, out of Pamphylia, where he then staid to recruit his strength after a fit of sickness. He obeyed his orders, but with great reluctance, both from respect to Caninius, who was thrown out of this employment by Cato with so much disgrace, and because he esteemed such a commission too mean for him, and not at all becoming a young man addicted to learning. Nevertheless, he executed it with such care and diligence, that he was highly commended by Cato; and having turned all the goods of Ptolemy into ready money, he brought the greatest part of it with him to Rome.

When the state was divided into two factions, when Pompey and Cæsar had taken up arms against each other, and the whole empire was in confusion, it was generally believed that Brutus would have taken Cæsar's side; for his father not long before had been put to death by Pompey. But he thinking it his duty to prefer the interest of the public before his own private resentments, and judging Pompey's to be the better cause, took part with him; though formerly he used not so much as to salute or take any notice of Pompey, if he happened to meet him, esteeming it a great crime to have the least conversation with the murderer of his father. But now looking upon him as the head of the commonwealth, he lifted himself under his command, and set sail for Sicily, in quality of lieutenant to Sestius, who had the government of that island. But finding no opportunity there of signalling

lising himself in any great action, and hearing that Pompey and Cæsar were encamped near one another, and were preparing for that battle upon which the whole empire depended, he came of his own accord to Macedonia to partake in the danger. At his coming, it is said, that Pompey was so surprised and pleased, that rising from his chair, in the sight of all his guards, he saluted and embraced him, treating him with as much respect as if he had been his superiour. All the time that he was in the camp, excepting that which he spent in Pompey's company, he employed in reading and in study, which he did not neglect even the day before the battle of Pharsalia. It was the middle of summer, the heat was very great, the camp sustained many inconveniencies by being pitched in a marshy ground, and they who carried Brutus's tent, had staid a long while before they came. Yet though upon all these accounts he was extremely harassed, and out of order, he forbore anointing himself till towards the middle of the day; and having eaten very sparingly, while the rest were asleep, or taken up with the thoughts of to-morrow's action, he spent his whole time till the evening in writing an epitome of Polybius.

It is said, that Cæsar had so great a regard for him, that he ordered his commanders by no means to kill Brutus in the battle, but to spare him, if possible, and bring him safe to him, if he would willingly surrender himself; but if he made any resistance, to suffer him to escape, rather than to do him any violence. And this he is believed to have done out of tenderness to Servilia, the mother of Brutus. For Cæsar had *, it seems, in his youth, been

* This passion was no secret, for one day Cæsar made her a present of a pearl which cost him near 50,000 l.; and during the civil wars he assigned to her for a trifle a considerable estate, which had been confiscated, and had been put up by him to public sale. When every

been very intimate with her, and she had been passionately in love with him. And considering that Brutus was born about that time, in which their love was at the highest, Cæsar had some reason to believe that he was begot by him. It is said that when some very important affairs relating to the conspiracy of Catiline, which had like to have been the destruction of the commonwealth, were debating in the senate, Cato and Cæsar, who were of opposite sides in the debate, happened to sit near each other. In the midst of their business a little note was delivered to Cæsar from without, which he took and read silently to himself. Upon this Cato cried out aloud, and accused Cæsar of *receiving messages and letters from the enemies of the commonwealth*. This raised a great disturbance in the senate; wherefore Cæsar delivered the note, as he had received it, to Cato, who reading it, found it to be a lewd letter from his own sister Servilia, and threw it back again to Cæsar, with these words, *Take it, you sot*; and then went on with the public business. So notorious was Servilia's love to Cæsar.

After the overthrow at Pharsalia, when Pompey had fled towards the sea, and Cæsar's army was storming the camp, Brutus escaped privately out of the gates to a marshy place full of water, and covered with reeds; from whence venturing out in the night, he got safe to Larissa. From Larissa he wrote to Cæsar, who expressed a great deal of joy to hear that he was safe, and having sent for him, not only forgave him freely, but kept him with him, and honoured him as highly as any of his friends. When nobody could give any certain account which

every one was surprised to see at how cheap a price it was bought by Servilia, Cicero said, *Quo melius emptum sciatis, tertia deducta est*. "That you may have a better opinion of the purchase, you are to know that the third is deducted;" for it was said that Servilia yielded up to Cæsar her daughter Tertia, that is, her third. There is also a sting in the word *deducta*, which is applied to procurers.

way Pompey had taken his flight, Cæsar walked for some time alone with Brutus, to try to find out what was his opinion; and after some conversation finding his conjectures most probable, he came entirely into his sentiments, and bent his march towards Egypt. But Pompey, who had indeed taken that very course, as Brutus had conjectured, having reached Egypt, was there murdered.

Brutus had so much power with Cæsar, that he reconciled him to his friend Cassius; and when he spoke likewise in behalf of the king of Africa *, though many heavy accusations were brought against him, yet, by the force of his entreaties, he preserved to him a great part of his kingdom. It is said, that, at his first opening of the cause, Cæsar said to his friends, *I know not what this young man means, but whatever he intends, he pursues it steadily.* For his steady mind, which was not easily moved by entreaties, but was actuated by reason, and the principles of honour and virtue, which way soever it turned itself, moved with great vigour and impetuosity, and generally effected its designs. No flattery could ever prevail with him to listen to unjust petitions; and he reckoned, that to be overcome by the frontless importunities of suitors, though some call it modesty and tenderness of disposition, was the foulest disgrace a great man could suffer. And he used to say, *That he suspected, that they who could deny nothing, had not very honestly employed the flower of their youth.*

Cæsar being about to make an expedition into Africa against Cato and Scipio, committed to Brutus the government of Gallia Cisalpina, to the

* It does not appear in any author that Brutus ever pleaded for the king of Africa. But it is certain that he pleaded in defence of King Deiotarus. And this gave occasion to that expression of Cæsar concerning Brutus, which Plutarch mentions in the next sentence. It follows therefore, that either this passage in Plutarch is corrupted, or that it is a slip of his memory, as has been observed by Victorius, and Crusierus,

great happiness of that province. For while those of other provinces were exposed to the violence and avarice of their governours, and suffered as much oppression, as if they had been slaves and captives, Brutus behaved in such a manner to those under his government, that he made them amends for all their former calamities, though he gave the whole praise to Cæsar; insomuch that it was a most welcome and pleasant spectacle to Cæsar, when in his return he passed through Italy, to see the cities that were under Brutus's command, and Brutus himself studious to do him honour, and most obligingly attending him in his progress.

Several prætorships being vacant, it was all mens opinion, that that of the chief dignity, which is called the *prætorship of the city*, would be conferred either upon Brutus or Cassius; and some say, that there having been some little difference between them upon some former occasion, this competition set them much more at variance, though they were allied, Cassius having married Junia the sister of Brutus. Others say, that this contention was raised between them by Cæsar's means, who had privately given each of them such hopes of his favouring their pretensions, as made them break out into this open competition. Brutus had only the reputation of his honour and virtue to oppose to the many gallant actions performed by Cassius against the Parthians. But Cæsar having heard each side, and deliberating about the matter, among his friends, said, *Cassius indeed pleads with most justice, but Brutus must have the first prætorship.* Therefore another prætorship was given to Cassius; but he was not so much obliged by obtaining this, as he was incensed for the loss of the other. And in all other things Brutus partook of Cæsar's power as much as he desired; for he might, if he had pleased, been the chief of all his friends, and have had more authority than any of them; but Cassius's party drew him off from Cæsar,

Cæsar, and fixed him in their interest. Indeed he was not yet wholly reconciled to Cassius, since that competition which had been between them; but yet he gave ear to Cassius's friends, who were perpetually advising him *not to suffer himself to be softened and soothed by Cæsar, but to shun the civilities and favours of a tyrant, which, they said, Cæsar showed him, not out of respect to his virtue, but to unbend his strength, and slacken his spirit and resolution.* Neither was Cæsar wholly without suspicion of him, nor were there wanting persons who continually accused Brutus to him; but though he feared indeed the high spirit, the great authority, and the many friends that he had, he thought himself secure in his honesty and virtue. When it was told him first, that Antony and Dolabella were meditating some dangerous enterprise, *It is not, said he, the fat and the sleek men that I fear, but the pale and the lean;* meaning Brutus and Cassius. Afterwards when some accused Brutus to him, and advised him to beware of him, laying his hand upon his breast, he said, *What, do you think that Brutus will not wait out the time of this little body?* as if he thought none fit to succeed him in so great power but only Brutus. And indeed it seems certain, that Brutus might have been the first man in the commonwealth, if he could have had patience but a little time to be second to Cæsar; and if he would have suffered his power insensibly to decay after it was come to its highest pitch, and the fame of his great actions to wither and die away by degrees. But Cassius, a man of a fierce disposition, and one who out of private malice, rather than love of the public, hated Cæsar, not the tyrant, continually inflamed him and urged him on. And indeed it was said, *That Brutus could not endure the imperial power, but Cassius hated the emperor.* Cassius pretended to have received many injuries from Cæsar. Among other things he complained of his having taken his lions which he had procured when
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he was nominated for ædile, and which he had sent to Megara; for Cæsar finding them there when that city was taken by Calanus, kept them for his own use. It is said that these lions proved very fatal to the Megarians; for the moment the city was taken, they broke open their dens, pulled off their chains, and let them loose, that they might put a stop to the impetuosity of the enemy, who were then entering the city; but they, instead of falling upon the enemy, turned upon the inhabitants themselves, and as they fled up and down unarmed tore great numbers of them to pieces, so that their very enemies could not behold so miserable a spectacle without horour and compassion. This, some say, was the chief provocation that stirred up Cassius to conspire against Cæsar; but they are much in the wrong. For Cassius had from his youth a natural hatred and rancour against the whole race of tyrants, which he showed when he was but a boy, and went to the same school with Faustus, the son of Sylla; for when Faustus was boasting amongst the boys, and extolling the unlimited authority of his father, Cassius rose up, and struck him two or three blows on the face; which when the tutors and relations of Faustus designed to inquire into, and to prosecute, Pompey forbade them, and sending for both the boys together, examined the matter himself. And Cassius then is reported to have said, *Come on, Faustus, speak, if thou darest, before this man those words that provoked me, that I may strike thee again as I did before.* Such was the disposition of Cassius.

But Brutus, by many persuasions of his familiar friends, and by many expressions that were dropped, and many letters that were written by unknown citizens, was roused up and animated to this undertaking. For under the statue of his ancestor Brutus, who overthrew the kingly government, they wrote these words, *O that we had a Brutus now!*
and,

and, *O that Brutus were alive!* and Brutus's own tribunal, on which he sat as prætor, was filled each morning with such inscriptions as these, *You are asleep, Brutus*; and, *You are not a true Brutus*. Now, the flatterers of Cæsar were the occasion of all this, for among other invidious honours which they contrived for him, they crowned his statues by night, with a design to induce the people to salute him *king* instead of *dictator*. But the contrary effect happened, as I have more particularly shown in the life of Cæsar.

When Cassius solicited his friends to engage in this design against Cæsar, all readily consented upon condition that Brutus would be head of the conspiracy. For their opinion was, that for this enterprise they wanted not hands or resolution, but the reputation and authority of a man, such as he was, to preside at this sacrifice, and by his presence justify the undertaking. They imagined that without him they should go about this action with less spirit, and should lie under greater suspicions when they had done it; because they knew all the world would think, that if the action were just and honourable, Brutus would not have refused to engage in it.

Cassius having considered these things with himself, went to Brutus, and made him the first visit after their quarrel; and when the compliments of reconciliation were over, he asked him, *If he designed to be present at the senate on the calends of March, for it was reported, he said, that Cæsar's friends intended then to move that he might be made king.* When Brutus answered, *that he would not be there*; Cassius replied, *But what if they should send for us? It is my business then, said Brutus, not to hold my peace, but strenuously to oppose it, and die before I see the ruin of our liberty.* Cassius encouraged by this answer, said, *But what Roman will suffer you to die? What, do you not know yourself, Brutus? Or, do you think that those*
inscriptions

inscriptions that you find upon your tribunal, were put there by weavers and victuallers, and not by the first and most powerful men of Rome? From other prætors indeed they expect largesses, and shows, and gladiators; but from you they claim, as an hereditary debt, the extirpation of tyranny; they are all ready to suffer any thing on your account, if you will but show yourself such as they think you are, and expect you should be. Having said this he embraced Brutus; and being thus thoroughly reconciled, they parted; and each went to his own friends.

Among those of Pompey's faction there was one Quintus Ligarius, whom Cæsar had pardoned, though accused of having been in arms against him. This man, not feeling so much gratitude for having been forgiven, as indignation against that power which made him need a pardon, hated Cæsar, but was one of Brutus's most intimate friends, Brutus visiting him one day, and finding him sick, *O Ligarius*, says he, *what a time is this to be sick?* At which words Ligarius raising himself and leaning on his elbow, took Brutus by the hand, and said, *But, O Brutus, if you are on any design worthy of yourself, I am well.* From this time they tried the inclinations of all their acquaintance whom they could trust, and communicated the secret to them, and took also into the conspiracy not only their familiar friends, but as many as they believed bold and brave, and despisers of death. For which reason they concealed the plot from Cicero, though they entirely confided in him, and exceedingly loved him, left to his own disposition, which was naturally timorous, adding the wariness and caution of old age, and weighing every particular, that he might not make one step without the greatest security, he should blunt the edge of their resolution, in a business which required all the dispatch imaginable.

There were also two others, who were companions of Brutus, Statilius the Epicurean, and Favonius

nus a follower of Cato, whom he left out of the conspiracy, for this reason : As he was discoursing one day with them in a distant manner, and proposing some questions to be disputed of as among philosophers, to try what opinion they were of, Favonius declared his judgment to be, that a civil war was worse than the most unjust tyranny ; and Statilius held, that to bring himself into troubles and danger, upon the account of wicked and foolish men, did not become a man who had any wisdom or discretion. But Labeo, who was present, contradicted them both ; and Brutus, as if it had been an intricate dispute, and difficult to be decided, held his peace for that time ; but he afterwards discovered the whole design to Labeo, who readily joined in it. They then thought proper to gain the other Brutus, surnamed *Albinus*, a man of no great bravery or resolution, but considerable for the number of gladiators which he bred up for the public shows, and the great confidence Cæsar put in him. When Cassius and Labeo discoursed with him concerning this matter, he gave them no answer : but meeting Brutus himself alone, and finding that he was their leader, he readily consented to partake in the action ; and the very name of Brutus brought many others, and those of the best quality, over to the conspirators ; who, though they took no oath of secrecy, nor used any other sacred rite, to assure their fidelity to each other, yet conducted the whole design with such privacy, caution, and silence, that though by prophecies, by wonderful apparitions and prodigies, and by the entrails of victims, the gods gave warning of the conspiracy, yet could it not be believed.

Now Brutus considering that the greatest men of all Rome for virtue, birth, or courage, depended wholly upon him, and pondering in his mind all the dangers they were to encounter, strove as much as possible, when abroad, to keep his uneasiness to himself,

himself, and compose his unquiet thoughts ; but at home, and especially at night, he was not the same man ; sometimes his working care would make him start out of his sleep ; and at other times he was so immersed in thought, and so perplexed in his mind, that his wife, who lay by him, could not but take notice that he was full of unusual trouble, and had some dangerous and difficult affair in agitation. Porcia, as was said before, was the daughter of Cato ; and Brutus, her cousin-german, had married her very young, though she was a widow, and had a son named *Bibulus* after his father ; and there is a little book of his still extant, called, *The memoirs of Brutus*. This Porcia being addicted to philosophy, having a great affection for her husband, and being a woman of extraordinary courage and prudence, resolved not to inquire into Brutus's secrets, before she had made this trial of her patience and resolution. She turned all her attendants out of her chamber, and taking a little knife, such as they use to cut nails with, she gave herself a deep gash on the thigh, upon which followed a great effusion of blood, and soon after violent pains, and a dangerous fever, occasioned by the anguish of the wound. Brutus being extremely afflicted for her, she in the height of all her pain spoke thus to him : *I, Brutus, being the daughter of Cato, was given to you in marriage, not like a concubine, to partake only of your bed and table, but to bear a part in all your good and ill fortune. You indeed have never given me any reason to repent of my marriage ; but from me, what evidence of my love, what return can you receive, if I may not share with you in your most hidden griefs, nor be admitted to any of your counsels that require secrecy and fidelity ? I know that women seem to be of too weak a nature to be trusted with secrets ; but certainly, Brutus, a virtuous education, and conversation with the good and honourable, are of some force to the forming our manners, and strengthening our natural weakness ; and I can boast that*

I am the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. Yet in these titles I would not place an absolute confidence; I have therefore tried myself, and find, that even against pain itself I am invincible. When she had said this, she showed him her wound, and related to him the whole trial that she had made of her own constancy: at which being astonished, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and *begged the assistance of the gods in his enterprise, that he might show himself a husband worthy of such a wife as Porcia.* He then took all proper care to cure her wound, and restore her health.

A meeting of the senate being appointed, at which it was generally believed that Cæsar would be present, the conspirators agreed to make use of that opportunity; for then they might appear all together without suspicion: and besides, they had hopes that all the most considerable men in the commonwealth, who would be then assembled, as soon as the deed was done, would immediately appear for them, and assert the common liberty. The very place too where the senate was to meet, seemed to be, by divine appointment, favourable to their purpose: it was a portico adjoining to the theatre, where there was a hall furnished with seats, in which stood a statue of Pompey, erected to him by the commonwealth, when he adorned that part of the city with the porticoes and the theatre. To this place the senate was summoned on the ides of March; so that some god seemed to them to bring Cæsar thither, to revenge upon him the death of Pompey.

When the day was come, Brutus taking with him a dagger which none but his wife knew of, went abroad. The rest met together at Cassius's house, and conducted his son, who was that day to put on the *manly gown*, as it was called, into the Forum; and from thence going all to Pompey's porch, they waited there till Cæsar came to the senate. Here it was chiefly that any one who had know

known what they had purposed, would have admired the unconcerned temper, and the steady resolution of these men, in so dangerous an undertaking; for many of them being prætors, and by their office obliged to judge and determine causes, heard all who made any application to them, or had any suit depending before them, not only with calmness, as if they were free from all other thoughts, but with the closest attention, and decided with the greatest accuracy and judgment. And when a certain person refused to stand to the award of Brutus, and with great clamour and many protestations appealed to Cæsar, Brutus looking round upon those who were present, said, *Cæsar does not hinder me, nor shall he hinder me, from acting according to the laws.* Yet there were many accidents that disturbed them. The first and chief was, the long stay of Cæsar, though the day was far spent, he being detained at home by his wife, and forbidden by the soothsayers to go abroad, because of some defect that appeared in his sacrifice. Another was this; a man came up to Casca, one of the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, *You concealed, said he, the secret from me, but Brutus has told me all.* At which words when Casca was surprised, the other said laughing, *How come you to be so rich of a sudden as to stand for the ædileship?* So near was Casca to discovering the secret, being deceived by the ambiguity of the other's discourse. Then Popilius Læna, a senator, having saluted Brutus and Cassius very obligingly, whispered them softly, and said, *My wishes are with you, that you may accomplish what you design; and I advise you to make no delay, for the thing is now no secret.* This said, he went away, and left them in a great consternation, suspecting that the design had taken vent. In the mean while there came one running from Brutus's house, and brought him news that his wife was dying. For Porcia being extremely disturbed with expectation of this e-

vent, and not able to bear her anxiety, could scarce keep herself within doors; and at every little noise or voice she heard, leaping forth, and starting suddenly, like one of the mad priestesses of Bacchus, she asked every one that came from the Forum, *What Brutus was doing?* and continually sent one messenger after another to inquire. At last, after long expectation, the strength of her body could hold out no longer; but overcome by the agitation of her thoughts, she fainted away. She had not time to betake herself to her chamber; for as she was sitting in the middle of the house, her spirits suddenly failed, her colour changed, and she lost her senses and speech. At this sight her women shrieked out, and many of the neighbours running to Brutus's house, to know what was the matter, a report was soon spread abroad that Porcia was dead; but she recovered in a little while, and her attendants took proper care of her. When Brutus received this news, he was extremely troubled, nor without reason; yet was he not so possessed by his private grief, as to neglect the public concern: for now news was brought that Cæsar was coming, carried in a litter; for being discouraged by the ill omens that attended his sacrifices, he had determined not to undertake any affairs of importance that day, but to defer them till another time, pretending that he was sick. As soon as he came out of the litter, Popilius Læna, he who but a little before had wished Brutus good success in his undertaking, coming up to him, discoursed a great while with him, Cæsar standing still all the while, and seeming to be very attentive. The conspirators not being able to hear what he said, but guessing, in consequence of the suspicion which they had of Læna, that this conference was the discovery of their design, were strangely dejected, and looking upon one another, agreed from each other's countenances, that they should not stay to be taken, but should

should all kill themselves. And now when Cassius and some others were laying their hands upon their daggers under their robes, and were drawing them out, Brutus viewing narrowly the looks and gesture of Læna, and finding that he was earnestly petitioning, and not accusing, said nothing, because there were many strangers to the conspiracy mingled amongst them, but with a cheerful countenance encouraged Cassius. And after a little while Læna having kissed Cæsar's hand, went away, showing plainly, that all his discourse was about some particular business relating to himself.

The senate being gone in before to the place where they were to sit, some of the conspirators got close to Cæsar's chair, pretending they had some suit to make to him; and Cassius turning his face to Pompey's statue, is said to have invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his prayers. Trebonius in the mean while drew Antony towards the door, and kept him in talk without the court. Cæsar now entered, and the whole senate rose up to him. As soon as he was sat down, they all crouded round about him, and set Tullus Cimber, one of their own number, to intercede in behalf of his brother who was banished; they all joined their prayers with his, and took Cæsar by the hand, and kissed his head and his breast. But he at first rejecting their supplications, and afterwards when he saw they would not desist, violently rising up, Tullus, with both hands, took hold of his robe, and pulled it off from his shoulders, and Casca, who stood behind him, drawing his dagger, gave him the first, though but a slight wound, near the shoulder. Cæsar presently caught hold of the handle of the dagger, and cried out aloud in Latin, *Thou villain, Casca, what dost thou mean?* And Casca in the mean time called to his brother in Greek, bidding him come and help him. Cæsar now being wounded by a great many hands,

and looking round about him to see if there was any way to escape, as soon as ever he spied Brutus with his dagger drawn against him, he let go Cæsar's hand, and covering his head with his robe, gave up his body to their swords. They so eagerly pressed about him, and so many weapons were aimed at him at once, that the conspirators cut one another; Brutus particularly, as he was endeavouring to have his share in the slaughter, received a wound in his hand, and all of them were besmeared with blood.

Cæsar being thus slain, Brutus stepped forth into the middle of the senate-house, intending to make a speech, and called back the senators, and encouraged them to stay; but they were all frightened, and ran away in great disorder, and there was a great confusion and throng about the door, though none pursued or followed; for the conspirators had firmly resolved to kill nobody beside Cæsar, but to invite all the rest to liberty. It was indeed the opinion of all the others, when they consulted about the execution of their design, that it was necessary to cut off Antony with Cæsar, looking upon him as an insolent man, a favourer of monarchy, and one who had gained a powerful interest by his conversation and acquaintance in the army. And this they urged the rather, because at that time, to the natural ambition and haughtiness of his temper, there was added the dignity of being consul, and the colleague of Cæsar. But Brutus opposed this advice, insisting first upon the injustice of it, and afterwards giving them hopes that Antony might be induced to change his measures. For he did not think it improbable, that now Cæsar was taken off, so honourable a man, and such a lover of glory as Antony, being inflamed with a noble emulation by their attempt, would lay hold of this occasion to be joint restorer with them of the liberty of his country. Thus Brutus saved
Antony's

Antony's life; but he in the general consternation put himself into a Plebeian habit, and fled. Brutus and his party betook themselves to the capitol, and in their way showing their hands all bloody, and their naked swords, proclaimed liberty to the people. At first all places were filled with lamentation; and the wild running to and fro, occasioned by the sudden surprise and passion that every one was in, made a great tumult in the city. But no other person being killed, nor any acts of violence committed, the senators and many of the people took courage, and went up to the conspirators in the capitol. Brutus made an oration to them very popular, and suitable to the present state of affairs. Therefore when they applauded his speech, and cried out to him to come down, the conspirators took courage, and descended into the Forum; the rest were promiscuously mingled with one another; but many of the most eminent quality attended Brutus, conducted him in the midst of them with great honour from the capitol, and placed him in the rostrum. At the sight of Brutus, the people, though they were a confused disorderly rabble, and all disposed to make a tumult, were struck with reverence, and waited to hear what he would say, with great modesty and silence; and when he began to speak, they listened to him with all imaginable attention. But it appeared soon after that they were not at all pleased at the action; for when Cinna began to speak and accuse Cæsar, they broke out into a sudden rage, and railed at him in such opprobrious language, that the conspirators thought fit again to withdraw to the capitol; and Brutus expecting to be besieged, dismissed the most eminent of those who had accompanied them thither, not thinking it just that they who were not partakers of the fact should share in the danger. But the next day the senate being assembled in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, and Plancus, and Cicero having made orations,

tions, to persuade the people to forget what was past, and to be mutually reconciled, it was decreed, that the conspirators should not only be pardoned, but that the consuls should determine what honours and dignities were proper to be conferred upon them. When this was done, the senate broke up; and Antony having sent his son as an hostage to the capitol, Brutus and his accomplices came down, and mutual salutations and civilities passed between them. Antony invited Cassius to supper, Lepidus did the same to Brutus, and the rest were invited and treated by others who were their acquaintance and friends.

As soon as it was day, the senate assembled again, and ordered thanks to Antony, for having stifled the beginning of a civil war. Afterwards Brutus and his associates received likewise the thanks of the senate, and had provinces distributed among them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and to the other Brutus that part of Gaul which lies about the Po.

After these things they began to consider of Cæsar's will, and the ordering of his funeral. Antony desired that the will might be read, and that the body might not have a private or dishonourable interment, lest that should further exasperate the people. This Cassius violently opposed; but Brutus yielded to it, in which he seems to have committed a second fault. For as he was to blame before in sparing the life of Antony, and in preserving a person who was so violent and formidable an enemy to the conspirators; so now in suffering him to have the management of the funeral, he fell into a total and irrecoverable error. For first, it appearing by the will, that Cæsar had bequeathed to every Roman citizen seventy-five drachmas, and given to the people his gardens beyond the Tiber, (where now the temple of Fortune stands), the whole city felt a wonderful affection for him, and a passionate regret

regret for the loss of him. And afterwards, when the body was brought into the Forum, Antony, as the custom was, made a funeral oration in praise of Cæsar; and finding the multitude moved with his speech, to stir them up yet further to compassion, he unfolded the bloody garment of Cæsar, showed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed to their view the number of his wounds. Upon this all was in confusion; some cried out to kill the murderers, others (as was formerly done in the case of Clodius that seditious demagogue) seized the benches and tables from the shops round about, and heaping them all together, raised a great funeral pile, and having put the body of Cæsar upon it, set it on fire. The place wherein this was done, was surrounded with a great many temples and other consecrated buildings, so that they seemed to burn the body in a kind of sacred solemnity. As soon as the fire flamed out, the multitude flocking in, some from one part, and some from another, snatched the brands that were half burnt out of the pile, and ran about the city to fire the houses of the conspirators. But they having beforehand well fortified themselves, escaped the danger.

There was a certain poet, called *Cinna*, not at all concerned in the conspiracy, but on the contrary one of Cæsar's friends. This man dreamed that he was invited to supper by Cæsar, and that he refused to go, but that the emperor entreated and pressed him to it very earnestly, and at last taking him by the hand led him into a very deep and dark place, whither he was forced against his will to follow in great consternation and amazement. After this vision he had a fever the most part of the night; nevertheless in the morning hearing that the body of Cæsar was to be carried forth to be interred, he was ashamed not to be present at the solemnity; he therefore came abroad, and mingled with the people after they had been thus enraged
by

by the speech of Antony. The multitude perceiving him, and taking him not for the Cinna that indeed he was, but for him who a little before in a speech to the people had inveighed against Cæsar, fell upon him and tore him to pieces. This action more than any thing, except the alteration in Antony's conduct, alarmed Brutus and his party, so that for their safety they retired from the city, and went to Antium, where they staid for some time, with a design to return again as soon as the fury of the people had spent itself and was abated; which they expected would soon happen, considering the inconstant nature of the multitude, which is apt to be carried away with such sudden and impetuous gusts of passion, especially since they had the senate so favourable to them: for though the senate took no notice of those who had torn Cinna to pieces, yet they strictly searched for and apprehended those who had assaulted the houses of the conspirators. By this time also the people began to be dissatisfied with Antony, who they perceived was setting up a kind of monarchy for himself; and they longed for the return of Brutus, whose presence they hoped for at the games and spectacles, which he, as prætor, was to exhibit to the public. But he having intelligence that many of the old soldiers who had borne arms under Cæsar, by whom they had had lands and colonies given them, lay in wait for him, and by small parties at a time had stolen into the city, would not venture to come himself. However, in his absence, there were most magnificent and costly shows exhibited to the people; for having bought up a great number of all sorts of wild beasts, he ordered that not any of them should be given away, or saved, but that they should be all used in those spectacles. He went in person as far as Naples, to procure a considerable number of comedians; and hearing of one Canutius who was very much admired for his action upon the stage, he wrote

wrote to his friends to use all their entreaties to bring him to Rome; for being a Grecian, he thought that he ought not to be compelled; he wrote also to Cicero, begging him by no means to omit being present at the public shows.

This was the posture of affairs, when another alteration happened by Octavius's arrival at Rome. He was son to the sister of Cæsar, who adopted him, and left him heir by his will. At the time when Cæsar was killed, he was following his studies at Apollonia, where he staid expecting to meet Cæsar, when he was going on the expedition he had designed against the Parthians. But hearing of his death he immediately came to Rome; and to ingratiate himself with the people, taking upon himself the name of Cæsar, and punctually distributing among the citizens the money that had been left them by the will, he soon got the better of Antony; and by his largesses, which he liberally dispersed amongst the soldiers, he gathered together, and brought over to his party, a great number of those who had served under Cæsar. Cicero himself, out of the hatred which he bore to Antony, sided with Octavius; which Brutus took so ill, that he upbraided him very sharply in his letters, telling him, *That he perceived Cicero could well enough endure a tyrant, but was afraid that he who hated him should be the man; that in writing and speaking so well of Octavius, he showed that his only aim was to enjoy an easy slavery: but our forefathers, said Brutus, could not brook even gentle masters.* He added further, *That for his own part he had not as yet fully resolved, whether he should make war or remain in peace; but that in one point he was absolutely determined, never to be a slave; that he wondered Cicero should fear the danger of a civil war, and not be much more afraid of a dishonourable and infamous peace, and that he should desire no other reward for destroying the tyranny of Antony, than to make Octavius the tyrant.* Such was the spirit of Brutus's first letters.

The

The city being now divided into two factions, some betaking themselves to Cæsar, and others to Antony, and the soldiers selling themselves, as it were, by auction, and going over to him who would give them most, Brutus began to despair of any good event, and resolving to leave Italy, passed by land through Lucania, and came to Elea which is situated on the sea-side. Porcia being to return from thence to Rome, endeavoured to conceal the grief that oppressed her; but, in spite of all her resolution and magnanimity, a picture which she found there accidentally betrayed it. The subject of it was the parting of Hector and Andromache; he was represented delivering his young son Astyanax into her arms, and Andromache fixing her eyes upon him. As soon as she saw this piece, the resemblance it bore to her own distress made her burst into tears; and several times a-day she walked where that picture hung, to gaze at it, and weep before it. Upon this occasion, when Acilius, one of Brutus's friends, repeated out of Homer these verses, wherein Andromache says,

*Yet while my Hector still survives, I see,
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee.* Pope.

Brutus replied with a smile, *But I must not answer Porcia, as Hector did Andromache,*

*—Hasten to thy tasks at home,
There guide the spindle, and direct the loom.* Pope.

For though the natural weakness of her body hinders her from acting what only the strength of men can perform, yet she has a mind as valiant, and as active for the good of her country, as we have. This story is in the memoirs of Brutus, written by Bibulus, the son of Porcia.

Brutus took ship there, and sailed to Athens; where he was received by the people with great kindness, which they expressed by their loud acclamations,

mations, and by the public honours which were decreed him. He lived there with a particular friend, and was a constant auditor of Theomnestus the Academic, and Cratippus the Peripatetic, with whom he was so engaged in philosophical conversations, that he seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of public business, and to have devoted himself entirely to study. But all this while being unsuspected he was secretly making preparation for war; in order to which he sent Herostratus into Macedonia, to bring over the commanders that were there to his side; and he himself by his kindness gained the affections of all the young Romans who were then students at Athens. Of this number was Cicero's son, whom he highly extolled, and said, that, *whether sleeping or waking, he could not but admire a young man of so great a spirit, and such a hater of tyrants.*

At length he began to act openly; and being informed, that some Roman ships laden with money were coming from Asia, and that they were commanded by one of his friends, who was a good man, he went and met him near Carystus, a city of Eubœa. There entering into a conference with him, he requested him to deliver up the ships to him, and made him a very splendid entertainment; for it happened to be Brutus's birthday. As they were drinking and making libations for victory to Brutus, and liberty to Rome, Brutus, to animate them the more, called for a larger bowl. While he was holding it in his hand, he without any apparent occasion pronounced aloud this verse,

*Fate and Apollo join'd to work my fall *.*

Some historians write, that in the last battle which he fought at Philippi, the word that he gave to the soldiers was *Apollo*, and from thence con-

* This line is part of the speech which Patroclus makes just before his death to Hector, in the sixteenth book of the Iliad.

clude, that this exclamation was a preface of his defeat.

Antistius, the commander of these ships, gave him five hundred thousand drachmas of the money that he was conveying to Italy. And all the remains of Pompey's army, which after their general's defeat wandered about Thessaly, cheerfully joined with Brutus. Beside this he took from Cinna five hundred horse whom he was conducting to Dolabella in Asia. After that he sailed to Demetrias, and there seized a great quantity of arms, which had been provided by the command of Julius Cæsar for the Parthian war, and were now designed to be sent to Antony. Then Macedonia was delivered into his hands by Hortensius the prætor; and all the kings and potentates round about willingly offered to join with him. When news was brought that Caius, the brother of Antony, having passed through Italy, was marching on to join the forces that Gabinius commanded in Dyrrachium and Apollonia, Brutus resolved to prevent him, and to seize them before his arrival; he therefore in all haste moved forwards with as many men as he had about him. His march was very difficult, through rugged places, and in a great snow, but so expeditious, that he had left those who were to bring his provisions a great way behind. And now being very near to Dyrrachium, through cold and fatigue he fell into the distemper called *Bulimia*, or violent hunger. This is a disease which seizes both men and cattle, after much labour, and especially in a great snow: whether it is caused by the natural heat, which, when the body is seized with cold, is forced all inwards, and suddenly consumes all the nourishment laid in; or whether a sharp and subtile vapour, which comes from the snow as it dissolves, penetrates the body, and destroys the heat by expelling it through the pores; for the sweatings, which are frequent in
this

this distemper, seem to arise from the heat meeting with the cold, and being quenched by it on the surface of the body, But of this I have discoursed more at large in another place. Brutus growing very faint, and there being none in the whole army who had any thing for him to eat, his servants were forced to have recourse to the enemy, and going as far as to the very gates of the city, begged bread of the centinels that were upon duty. As soon as they heard of the distress of Brutus, they came themselves, and brought both meat and drink along with them; in return for which act of humanity, Brutus, when he took the city, showed great kindness, not to them only, but to all the rest of the inhabitants for their sakes.

Caius Antonius being now arrived at Apollonia, summoned all the soldiers that were quartered near that city to join him there; but finding that they nevertheless went all to Brutus, and suspecting that even those of Apollonia were inclined to the same party, he quitted that city, and came to Buthrotus, having first lost three cohorts, which in their march thither were cut to pieces by Brutus. After this attempting to make himself master of some posts near Byllis, which the enemy had first seized, he was overcome in a set battle by young Cicero, to whom Brutus gave the command of the army that day, and whose conduct he made use of often, and with great success. Caius Antonius was soon after surprised in a marshy place, from whence he could not retire; and Brutus, having him in his power, would not suffer his own soldiers to attack him, but encompassing him with his cavalry, gave command that none of the enemy should be killed, because in a little time they would all be on his side; which accordingly came to pass, for they surrendered both themselves and their general: so that Brutus had by this time a very considerable army. He showed all marks of honour and esteem to Caius Antonius

for a long time, nor did he take away any of the ensigns of his dignity ; though, as some report, he had letters from several persons at Rome, and particularly from Cicero, advising him to put him to death. But at last Brutus perceiving that he began privately to tamper with his officers, and was raising a sedition amongst the soldiers, put him aboard a ship, and kept him close prisoner. In the mean time, the soldiers who had been corrupted by him were retired to Apollonia, from whence they sent Brutus word, *that if he would come thither to them, they would return to their duty.* He answered, *That this was not the custom of the Romans ; but that it became those who had offended to come themselves to their general, and beg forgiveness of their crimes ;* which they did, and accordingly received their pardon.

As he was preparing to pass into Asia, there was an account brought to him of the alteration that had happened at Rome, where the young Cæsar assisted by the senate, in opposition to Antony, was got into great power, and having now driven his competitor out of Italy, began himself to be very formidable, suing for the consulship contrary to law, and maintaining a great army, of which the commonwealth had no need. At length perceiving that the senate, dissatisfied with his proceedings, began to cast their eyes abroad upon Brutus, and decreed and confirmed the government of several provinces to him, he was in some apprehension. Therefore dispatching messengers to Antony, he desired that there might be a reconciliation, and a strict friendship between them. Then drawing all his forces about the city, he obtained the consulship, though he was yet but a boy, being only in his twentieth year, as he himself writes in his commentaries. At his first entrance upon the consulship, he immediately ordered a judicial process to be commenced against Brutus and his accomplices, for having murdered the greatest man, and the highest magistrate

magistrate of Rome, without being heard or condemned ; and appointed Lucius Cornificius to accuse Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa to accuse Cassius ; and as they did not appear, the judges were forced to pass sentence and condemn them both. It is reported, that when the crier (as the custom was) with a loud voice cited Brutus to appear, the people could not suppress their sighs, and those of the best quality hung down their heads in silence. Publius Silicius was seen to burst into tears, which was the cause that not long after he was put down in the list of those who were proscribed.

The Triumviri, Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus, being perfectly reconciled, shared the provinces among themselves, and made up that list or proscription of two hundred Roman citizens, who had a price set on their heads, and were doomed to die. Cicero was one of those who perished on this occasion. This news being brought to Brutus in Macedonia, he was forced to send orders to Hortensius, to kill Caius Antonius, in revenge of the death of Cicero his friend, and the other Brutus his kinsman, who also was proscribed and slain. Upon this account it was that Antony, having afterwards taken Hortensius in the battle of Philippi, slew him upon his brother's tomb. Brutus says, *that he was even more ashamed for the cause of Cicero's death, than grieved for the misfortune of it, and could not help accusing his friends at Rome, who were slaves more through their own fault, than that of their tyrants, and who could themselves see, and yet suffer those things, which even to hear related, ought to have been insupportable.*

Brutus having caused his army, which was already very considerable, to pass into Asia, ordered a fleet to be got ready in Bithynia and at Cyzicum. In the mean time as he marched on by land, he regulated the affairs of all the cities, and gave audience to the princes of the countries through which

he passed. He sent word to Cassius also in Syria to come to him, and leave his intended journey into Egypt, telling him, *That they were not wandering about and collecting forces to gain an empire to themselves by the destruction of the tyrants, but to deliver their country; that they ought to remember what they had undertaken, and persevering in their first intentions, not remove too far from Italy, but make what haste they could thither, and endeavour to relieve their fellow-citizens.*

Cassius obeyed his summons, and set out to join him. At the same time Brutus went to meet him, and their first interview was at Smyrna. This was the first time they had seen one another since they parted at the Piræus in Athens, from whence one set out for Syria, and the other for Macedonia. The forces that each of them had got together gave them great joy, and rendered them very confident of success. For whereas when they left Italy they were forced in a manner to fly from it like despicable exiles, without money, without arms, without a ship, a soldier, or city to rely on, they were now notwithstanding in a short time met together, so well furnished with shipping and money, and an army both of horse and foot, that they were in a condition to contend for the empire of Rome. Cassius was desirous to show as much respect to Brutus, as Brutus did to him: but Brutus still prevented him, for the most part coming to him, both because he was the elder man, and of a more weakly constitution than himself. Men generally reckoned Cassius a very expert soldier, but of a hot and passionate disposition, and one who desired to command rather by fear than love; though on the other side among his familiar acquaintance he indulged himself in mirth and raillery even to excess. But Brutus, for the sake of his virtue, was esteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by all good men, and not hated even by his enemies:

mies : for he was of an extraordinary mild nature, of great magnanimity, not to be overpowered by anger, avarice, or the love of pleasure, steady and inflexible in his opinion, and zealous for whatever he thought just and honourable. And that which gained him the greatest credit and love among the people, was their opinion of his sincerity and integrity in all his undertakings. Whereas no man ever imagined that even Pompey the Great, if he had overcome Cæsar, would have submitted his power to the laws, but would have retained the sovereign authority in his own hands under the specious name of *consul* or *dictator*, or some other mild and more popular title, with which he would have soothed and amused the people. As for Cassius, a man of a violent and choleric temper, and who was often carried by his covetousness beyond the bounds of justice, they well knew that he fought, and travelled, and exposed himself to danger, rather to obtain dominion to himself, than liberty to the people. And as for the former disturbers of the peace of Rome, whether a Cinna, a Marius, or a Carbo, it is manifest that they having set their country as a stake for him that should win, did almost own in express terms, that they fought for empire. But even the enemies of Brutus cannot lay this accusation to his charge ; nay, many have heard Antony himself say, *That Brutus was the only man who conspired against Cæsar out of a sense of the glory and justice of the action ; but that all the rest were actuated by malice and envy.* And it is plain, that Brutus (by what he writes himself) did not so much rely upon his forces, as upon his own virtue : for thus he speaks in his epistle to Atticus, immediately before he was to engage with the enemy ; *That his affairs were in the most fortunate situation that he could wish ; for that either he should overcome, and restore liberty to the people of Rome, or die, and be himself free from slavery ; that all things else were fixed and certain, and that only one thing*

thing still remained doubtful, which was whether they were to live or die free men. He adds further, *That Mark Antony had received a just punishment for his folly, who when he might have been numbered with the Bruti, Cassii, and Catos, chose rather to be the underling of Octavius; and that if they were not both defeated in the ensuing battle, they would very soon fall out with one another.* And in this he appears to have been a true prophet.

While they were at Smyrna, Brutus desired Cassius to let him have part of the great treasure that he had collected, because all his own was expended in furnishing out such a fleet of ships as was sufficient to give them the command of the sea. But the friends of Cassius dissuaded him from this: *For, said they, it is not just that the money which you have saved with so much parsimony, and got with so much envy, should be given to him, to be disposed of in making himself popular; and gaining the favour of the soldiers.* Notwithstanding which Cassius gave him a third part of all that he had; and then they parted each to their several commands. Cassius having taken Rhodes, behaved there with great severity; though at his first entrance, when some had called him *their king and master*, he answered, *that he was neither king nor master, but the destroyer of him who would have been their king and master.* Brutus, on the other part, sent to the Lycians, to demand from them a supply of money and men; but Naucrates, an orator, persuaded the cities to rebel; and some of the inhabitants possessed themselves of several hills, with a design to hinder Brutus's passage. Brutus, at first, sent out a party of horse, which surprising them at dinner, killed six hundred of them; and afterwards, having taken all their small towns and villages round about, he set all the prisoners free without ransom, hoping to win the whole nation by his clemency. But they continued obstinate, being enraged for what they had suffered,

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ed, and despising his generosity and humanity. At last having forced the most warlike of them into the city of Xanthus, he besieged them there. There was a river which ran by the town; and several endeavoured to make their escape by swimming and diving; but they were taken by nets let down for that purpose, which had little bells at the top, to give notice when any were taken in them. The Xanthians after that made a sally in the night, and seizing several of the battering engines, set them on fire; but being soon perceived by the Romans, they were beaten back to their wall; and there being a very violent wind, it drove the flames to the battlements of the city, so that several of the adjoining houses took fire. Brutus, fearing lest the whole city should be destroyed, commanded his own soldiers to assist the citizens, and to quench it. But the Lycians were on a sudden possessed with a strange and incredible despair, such a frenzy as cannot be better expressed, than by calling it a passionate desire of death; for both women and children, freemen, and slaves, persons of all ages, and of all conditions, strove to force away the soldiers, who came in to their assistance, from the walls; and themselves gathering together reeds, and wood, and other combustible matter, spread the fire over the whole city, feeding it with whatever fuel they could get, and by all possible means exciting its fury; so that the flame having dispersed itself, and encircled the whole city, blazed out in a most terrible manner. Brutus was extremely afflicted at their calamity, and getting on horseback, rode round the walls, being earnestly desirous to preserve them; and stretching forth his hands to the Xanthians, he begged of them to spare themselves, and save their town. But instead of regarding his entreaties, they used every method to destroy themselves. Some, not only men and women, but even little children, with hideous outcries leaped into the fire;

fire; others threw themselves headlong from the walls; others fell upon their parents swords, opening their breasts, and desiring to be slain.

When almost the whole city was reduced to ashes, there was found a woman who had hanged herself with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had set fire to her own house. This was so tragical an object, that Brutus could not endure to see it, but wept when he heard the account of it, and proclaimed a reward to any foldier that could save a Xanthian. It is said, that an hundred and fifty only were preserved, and even they against their will. Thus the Xanthians, as if fate had determined certain stated periods for their destruction, after a long course of years, by their desperate courage renewed the calamity of their forefathers, who after the same manner in the Persian war had burned their city, and destroyed themselves.

Brutus, after this, finding the Patareans resolved to make resistance, and defend their city against him, was very unwilling to besiege it, and was in great perplexity, fearing lest the same frenzy might seize them too. But having with him some of their women whom he had taken captives, he dismissed them all without any ransom; and they returning to their husbands and fathers, who were men of the greatest quality, extolled the moderation, temperance, and justice of Brutus, and persuaded them to submit, and put their city into his hands. From this time, all the cities round about surrendered, and put themselves into his power, and found that his clemency and humanity surpassed even their hopes. For though Cassius at the same time had compelled every Rhodian to bring in all the silver and gold he was master of; by which means he raised a sum of eight thousand talents, and beside that, condemned the public to pay the sum of five hundred talents more; Brutus took
only

only a hundred and fifty talents from the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, departed from thence with his army to Ionia. Through the whole course of this expedition, Brutus did many memorable acts of justice, in dispensing rewards and punishments to such as had deserved either. One of these I will relate, because he himself, and every honest Roman, was in a particular manner pleased with it. When Pompey the Great, being overthrown by Cæsar, had fled to Egypt, and landed near Pelusium, the tutors and ministers of the young king consulted among themselves what was fit to be done on that occasion. But they did not all agree in the same opinion; some being for receiving him, others for driving him from Egypt. But Theodotus, a Chian by birth, and a mercenary teacher of rhetoric, then attending upon the king, and, for want of better men, being admitted into the council, undertook to convince them, that both parties were in the wrong, those whose advice was to receive Pompey, and those who were of opinion that he should be sent away; that, in their present case, the best way was to seize him, and to kill him; and he ended his speech with the proverb, *That dead men do not bite*. The council agreed to his opinion, and Pompey the Great afforded a singular example of incredible and unforeseen events, falling a victim to the rhetoric and eloquence of Theodotus, as that sophister himself afterwards boasted. Not long after, when Cæsar came to Egypt, some of the murderers received their just reward, and were put to death as they deserved. But Theodotus, though he had gained from fortune a little time for a poor, despicable, and wandering life, yet could not conceal himself from Brutus, as he passed through Asia; but being seized by him and executed, became more memorable by his death than from any transaction in the whole course of his life.

About

About this time Brutus sent word to Cassius to come to him at Sardis, and when he was on his journey, went with his friends to meet him; and the whole army being drawn up, saluted each of them with the name of *Imperator*. Now (as it usually happens in business of great moment, wherein many friends and many commanders are engaged) several mutual complaints and accusations passed between Brutus and Cassius. They resolved therefore, before they entered upon any other business, immediately to withdraw into some private apartment; where the door being shut, and they two alone, they began first to expostulate, then to dispute warmly, and accuse each other; and at last they were so transported with passion, that they burst into tears, and uttered the severest reproaches. Their friends, who stood without, were amazed, hearing them speak so loud and with so much anger, and feared lest some mischief might follow, but yet durst not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the room. But Marcus Favonius, one who was a zealous admirer of Cato, and whose philosophy seemed rather to proceed from wild and frantic passion, than the calm dictates of reason, attempted to enter. He was at first hindered by the attendants; but it was a hard matter to stop Favonius, where-ever his impetuosity hurried him; for he was fierce and violent in all his behaviour: and though he was a senator, yet thinking that one of the least of his excellencies, he valued himself more upon a sort of Cynical liberty of speaking what he pleased; which sometimes was diverting enough to those who could bear with his impertinent buffoonery. His Favonius breaking by force through those who kept the doors, entered into the chamber, and in a theatrical tone pronounced the verses which Homer puts in the mouth of Nestor, and which begin thus,

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Be ruled, for I am elder than you both.

This made Cassius laugh ; but Brutus thrust him out, calling him *a very dog and counterfeit Cynic* ; however, for the present this put an end to their dispute, and they both parted. Cassius made an entertainment that night, and Brutus invited his friends thither. When they were sat down, Favonius having bathed came in among them ; Brutus called out aloud, and told him, he was not invited, and bid him go to the lower end of the table : but he violently thrust himself in, and sat down in the middle. The entertainment was seasoned with pleasant and learned conversation. The following day, upon the accusation of the Sardians, Brutus publicly disgraced and condemned Lucius Pella, one who had been prætor, and had been employed in offices of trust by himself, for having embezzled the public money. This action did not a little vex Cassius ; for, but a few days before, two of his own friends being accused of the same crime, he only in private admonished them, but in public absolved them, and continued them in their office. Upon this occasion he accused Brutus of being too rigorously just at a time which required them to use lenity and forbearance. In answer to this, Brutus bid him *remember the ides of March, the day when they killed Cæsar, who himself did neither plunder and harass all mankind, but was only the support of such as did.* He bid him consider, *that if there was any colour for the neglect of justice, it had been better to have suffered the injustice of Cæsar's friends, than to allow impurity to their own ; for then, said he, we could have been accused of cowardice only ; whereas now, after all our toils and dangers, we shall incur the reproach of injustice.* Such were the principles of Brutus.

About the time when they had designed to pass out of Asia into Europe, it is said, that a wonderful apparition was seen by Brutus. He was natu-

rally of a watchful constitution, and being used to great moderation in his diet, and having perpetual employment, he allowed but a very small portion of time for sleep. He never slept in the day-time, and in the night then only when all his business was finished, and when, every one else being gone to rest, he had nobody left to discourse with him. But at this time the war being begun, having the whole state of it to consider, and being very solicitous about the event, he only slumbered for a little while after supper, and spent all the rest of the night in managing his most urgent affairs; which if he had dispatched in time, he employed himself in reading, till the third watch; at which time the centurions and tribunes used to come to him for orders. Thus one night, just before he left Asia, he was sitting very late all alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by him, all the camp being hushed and silent. As he was musing with himself, he thought he heard somebody enter, and turning his eye to the door, he saw a strange and terrible appearance of a hideous spectre standing silently by his side. Brutus boldly asked it, *What art thou? Man or god? And wherefore dost thou come to me?* The spirit answered, *I am thy evil genius, Brutus: Thou shalt see me at Philippi.* To which Brutus not at all disturbed, replied, *Then I will see thee there.*

As soon as the apparition vanished, he called his servants to him, who all told him, that they had neither heard any voice, nor seen any vision. He continued watching till the morning; and then went to Cassius, and related to him the apparition he had seen. He, who was a follower of Epicurus, and often used to dispute with Brutus concerning matters of this nature, answered him thus: *Brutus, It is the opinion of our sect, that not every thing that we feel or see is real; but that our senses are very uncertain and treacherous; and the imagination which is more quick and subtle, turns and varies our sensible impressions*

pressions into all manner of forms, and produces ideas which have no real object existing, as readily as we imprint any figure upon wax; for the soul of man, having in itself both that which forms, and that which is formed, can easily combine and diversify these impressions at its pleasure. This is evident from the sudden changes of our dreams, in which the imagination, upon very slight grounds, represents to us all the various passions of the soul and forms of external things; for it is the nature of the mind to be in perpetual motion, and that motion is our imagination and thought. But beside this, in your case, the body being spent with continual labour and care, naturally disturbs and unsettles the mind. But that there should be any such thing as dæmons or spirits, or if there were, that they should have a human shape, or voice, or any power that can affect us, is altogether improbable; though I confess I could wish that there were such beings, that we might not rely upon our arms only, and our horses, and our numerous fleet, but on the assistance of the gods also, in this our most sacred and honourable attempt. With such discourses as these, Cassius settled and composed the mind of Brutus.

As soon as the army began to march, two eagles flew down, and lighted on the two first ensigns, and continually followed the soldiers, and were fed by them till they came to Philippi; and there, the day before the fight, they both flew away. Brutus had already reduced most of the nations in these parts; but he marched on as far as the sea-coast overagainst Thasus, that if there were any city, or man of power, that yet stood out, he might force them all to subjection. Here Norbanus was encamped, in the straits, near Symbolum. Him they surrounded in such a manner, that they forced him to dislodge and quit the place; and Norbanus narrowly escaped losing his whole army, Cæsar, by reason of his sickness, being left behind; for he had certainly been lost, had not Antony arrived to his relief with such wonderful expedition, that Brutus

could not believe he was come. Cæsar came up to the army ten days after. Brutus was encamped overagainst him, and Cassius overagainst Antony. The space between the two armies is called by the Romans, *The plains of Philippi*. Never did two such numerous armies of Romans appear together ready to engage each other. The army of Brutus was somewhat less in number than that of Cæsar; but in the splendour of their arms, and richness of their equipage, it very far exceeded it; for most of their arms were of gold and silver, which Brutus had lavishly bestowed among them. For though in other things Brutus had accustomed his commanders to use all frugality and moderation, yet he thought that the riches which soldiers carried about them in their hands, and on their bodies, would add to the spirit of the ambitious, and make the covetous fight the more valiantly to preserve their arms, which were their principal wealth.

Cæsar made a lustration of his army within his trenches, and distributed only a little corn, and but five drachmas to each soldier for the sacrifice. But Brutus, to show his contempt of this poverty, or meanness of spirit in Cæsar, first, as the custom was, made a general lustration of his army in the open field, and then distributed a great number of beasts for sacrifice to every cohort, and fifty drachmas to every soldier: so that in the love of his soldiers, and their readiness to fight for him, Brutus had much the advantage of Cæsar. At the time of lustration, it is reported, that an unlucky omen happened to Cassius; for one of his officers presenting him with a garland that he was to wear at the sacrifice, gave it him with the inside outward. It is also said, that some time before, at a certain solemn procession, the golden image of victory, which was carried before Cassius, fell down, the person who bore it happening to stumble. Beside this, there appeared many birds of prey daily about the
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the camp; and several swarms of bees were seen in a place within the trenches, which place the soothsayers ordered to be shut out from the camp, to remove that superstitious fear which insensibly began to seize even Cassius himself, in spite of his Epicurean philosophy, but had wholly infected and subdued the soldiers. For this reason Cassius was very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a present battle, but advised rather to protract the war, considering that they were stronger in money and provisions, but in number of men inferiour. But Brutus, on the contrary, was still, as formerly, desirous to come with all speed to the decision of a battle; that so he might either restore his country to her liberty, or else deliver from their misery all those men who were harassed with the expenses, troubles, and dangers of the war. And finding also that his cavalry in several skirmishes had the better, he was the more encouraged and resolved: and some of the soldiers having deserted to the enemy, and others beginning to accuse and suspect one another, many of Cassius's friends in the council came over to the opinion of Brutus. But there was one of Brutus's party, named *Atellius*, who opposed his resolution, advising rather that they should tarry till the next winter. And when Brutus asked him, *In how much better a condition he hoped to be a year after?* his answer was, *If I gain nothing else, yet I shall live so much the longer.* Cassius was much displeased at this answer, as were all the officers present. It was therefore resolved to give battle the next day.

Brutus that night showed himself very cheerful and full of hope; and having passed the time of supper in philosophical conversation, he afterwards went to rest. But *Messala* says, that Cassius supped privately with a few of his nearest acquaintance; and that he appeared thoughtful and silent, contrary to his natural disposition. After supper he took

him by the hand, and pressing it close as his custom was, in token of his friendship, he said to him in Greek, *Bear witness for me, Messala, that I am brought into the same necessity, as Pompey the Great was before me, of hazarding the liberty of my country upon one battle. Yet I am not discouraged, relying on our good fortune, which we ought not to mistrust, though we have taken an imprudent resolution.* These, as Messala says, were the last words that Cassius spoke before he bade him farewell; and he then invited Cassius to sup with him the next day, it being his birthday.

The next morning as soon as it was light, the scarlet robe, which was the signal of battle, was hung out in the camps of Brutus and Cassius, and they themselves met in the middle space between their two armies. There Cassius spoke thus to Brutus: *The gods grant, O Brutus, that we may now overcome, and pass the rest of our days together in repose and prosperity. But since the greatest of human concerns are the most uncertain, and since it will be very difficult for us ever to see one another again, if the event of the battle should be unfortunate, tell me, what is your resolution concerning flight and death?* Brutus answered, *When I was young, Cassius, and unexperienced, I was led, I know not how, into an opinion of philosophy, which made me accuse Cato for killing himself, and represent that action as contrary both to piety and true courage, which forbid us to desert the post in which providence has placed us, and to fly from the calamities of life instead of bearing them with fortitude. But the situation I am in at present has made me alter my opinion; so that if heaven shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our wishes, I am resolved not to try the event of new hopes and fresh preparations, but will die contented with my fortune. For I gave up my life to the service of my country on the ides of March; in recompense of which I have ever since lived with liberty and honour.* Cassius at these words smiled, and embracing Brutus, said, *With these resolutions let us march against the enemy; for*
either

either we ourselves shall conquer, or we shall have no cause to fear those who do.

After this they discoursed among their friends about the ordering of the battle : and Brutus desired of Cassius, that he might command the right wing, though it was thought a post more fit for Cassius, because of his age, and his experience : yet even in this Cassius complied with Brutus, and placed Messala with the most valiant of all his legions, in the same wing. Brutus immediately drew out his cavalry, magnificently equipped, and without loss of time brought up the foot after them.

Antony's soldiers were at this time digging a trench from the marsh by which they were encamped, to cut off Cassius's passage to the sea. Cæsar was at a distance in his tent, not being able to be present himself, by reason of his sickness. And his soldiers not expecting that the enemy would come to a set battle, but only make some excursions with their darts and light arms to disturb those who were at work, and not taking notice of them when they were coming directly upon them, were amazed when they heard the confused outcry that came from the trenches. In the mean while Brutus sent to all the commanders tickets, in which was the word of battle ; and himself riding through the ranks, exhorted his soldiers to do their duty. There were but few of them who had patience to stay for the word, the greatest part, before it could be given, running with loud shouts upon the enemy. This precipitation caused a great confusion in the army, and the legions were separated one from another : that of Messala first, and afterwards those which were nearest to him, went beyond the left wing of Cæsar ; and without doing much more than putting some of the furthest ranks in disorder, and killing a few of their men, they passed on and fell directly into Cæsar's camp. Octavius himself, as he says in his own commentaries, had but just
before

before been conveyed away, upon the persuasion of Artorius, one of his friends, who had dreamed that he saw a vision, which commanded Cæsar to be carried out of the camp. This made it believed for some time that he was slain; for the soldiers had pierced his litter, which was left empty, in many places with their darts and spears. There was a great slaughter in the camp, and two thousand Lacedæmonians who were newly come to the assistance of Cæsar, were cut off. The rest of the army that had not gone round by the left wing of Cæsar, but had engaged his front, easily overthrew them, as they were in a great consternation, and cut in pieces three legions; and, in the ardour of victory, entered the camp with the fugitives, Brutus himself being among them. But the conquered taking the advantage of what was unperceived by the conquerors, fell with great fury upon the enemy, whose flank was left open and unguarded by the separation of the right wing, which had engaged too far in the pursuit; but, notwithstanding all their efforts, they could make no impression upon the main body, which received them with great courage and resolution: however they soon routed the left wing, as well by reason of the disorder in which Cassius's men were, as from their ignorance of what had passed in the right under the command of Brutus; and pursuing them close, they entered with them into their camp, which they pillaged and destroyed, though neither of their generals were present. For Antony, as they say, to avoid the fury of the first onset, had retired into the marsh that was hard by; and Cæsar, who by reason of his sickness had been conveyed out of the camp, was no where to be found. And some of the soldiers presented themselves to Brutus, and told him that they had killed Cæsar; in confirmation of which they showed him their swords all bloody, and described to him his age and person.

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The main body of Brutus's army had routed all those who opposed them, so that he was evidently conquerour on his side at the same time that Cassius was vanquished on the other. And this one mistake was the ruin of their affairs, that Brutus did not come to the relief of Cassius, thinking that he, as well as himself, was conquerour; and that Cassius did not expect the relief of Brutus, thinking that he too was overcome. For a proof that the victory was on Brutus's side, Messala urges his taking of three eagles, and many ensigns of the enemy, without losing any of his own. Brutus now returning from the pursuit, after having destroyed Cæsar's camp, wondered that he could not see the tent of Cassius appearing high above the rest, as usual, nor any of the others round about it. For they were most of them overturned, and destroyed by the enemy upon their first entrance into the camp. But some who had a better sight than the rest, told Brutus that they saw a great many shining helmets and silver targets moving to and fro in Cassius's camp; and they thought, that, by their number and their armour, they could not be those they had left to guard the camp, but yet that there did not appear so great a number of dead bodies thereabouts, as it was probable there would have been after the defeat of so many legions. This first made Brutus suspect Cassius's misfortune; and leaving a sufficient guard in the enemies camp, he called back those who were in the pursuit, rallied them together, and led them to the relief of Cassius, whose situation was this. He was much displeased at the first onset that Brutus's soldiers made without the word of battle, or command to charge. Then, after they had overcome, he was as much concerned to see them all eagerly bent upon plunder, and neglecting to surround and entirely to defeat the enemy. Beside this, by his own slow and dilatory conduct, and a want of activity and prudent attention,

tion, he was hemmed in by the right wing of the enemy, upon which all his cavalry quitted their station, and fled immediately towards the sea; the foot also began to give way; which he perceiving, laboured as much as ever he could to hinder their flight, and bring them back; and snatching an ensign out of the hand of one that fled, he stuck it at his feet, though he could hardly keep even his own prætorian band together: so that at last he was forced to fly with a few about him to a little hill that overlooked all the plain. But he himself being short-sighted, discovered nothing, only the destruction of his camp, and even that with much difficulty; but they who were with him saw a great body of horse, sent by Brutus, moving towards him. Cassius believed these to be a party of the enemy, sent in pursuit of him. However, he ordered Titinius, one of those who attended him, to go and get more certain intelligence. Brutus's men saw him coming; and as soon as they discovered that it was Cassius's faithful friend, they shouted for joy; those of them who were his more familiar acquaintance, alighting from their horses, saluted and embraced him; and the rest rode round about him in great triumph, and clashing their arms through their excess of gladness at the sight of him. But this proved fatal to Cassius, who concluded that they were the enemy who had thus surrounded Titinius, and made him their prisoner. Hereupon he cried out, *Through too much fondness for life, I have lived to see my friend taken by the enemy before my face.* When he had said this, he retired into an empty tent, taking with him only Pindarus, one of his freed men, whom he had reserved for such an occasion ever since the unhappy battle against the Parthians, where Crassus was slain. He escaped that misfortune; but now wrapping his robe about his head he laid his neck bare, and held it forth to Pindarus, commanding him to cut off his head;
for

for his head was found lying severed from his body. But no man ever saw Pindarus afterwards; from which some suspected, that he had killed his master without his command. Soon after, it was perceived who the horsemen were, and Titinius crowned with garlands came towards Cassius. But as soon as he understood, by the cries and lamentations of his afflicted friends, the unfortunate error and death of his general, he drew his sword, and having severely reproached and upbraided himself for his tardiness and negligence that had caused it, he slew himself. Brutus, as soon as he was assured of the defeat of Cassius, made haste to him, but heard nothing of his death, till he came near his camp. Then having lamented over his body, and called him, *The last of the Romans*, intimating that it was impossible that the city should ever produce another man of so great a spirit, he sent away the body to be buried at Thasus, lest his funeral being celebrated within the camp might possibly breed some confusion. He then gathered the soldiers together, and comforted them; and seeing them destitute of all things necessary, he promised to every man two thousand drachmas, in recompense of what they had lost. They at these words took courage, and were astonished at the magnificence of the gift, and waited upon him at his departure with shouts and acclamations, extolling him as the only general of all the four who was not overcome in the battle. And indeed the event proved that it was not without reason he believed he should conquer; for with a few legions he overthrew all that resisted him; and if all his soldiers had fought, and most of them had not passed beyond the enemy in pursuit of the plunder, it is very likely that he had utterly defeated them all. There fell on his side eight thousand men, reckoning the servants of the army, whom Brutus called *Briges*.

Briges *. And Messala says that he thinks there were slain on the other side above twice that number; for which reason they were more out of heart than Brutus, till a servant of Cassius, named *Demetrius*, came in the evening to Antony, and brought to him his master's robe and sword which he had taken from his dead body. At the sight of these they were so encouraged, that as soon as it was morning they drew out their whole force into the field, and stood in battle-array against Brutus. But Brutus found both his camps in a wavering and hazardous state. His own being filled with prisoners, required a very strong guard; and the army of Cassius was much discontented at the change of their general; besides, they who had been beaten were seized with a secret envy and indignation against those who had conquered; wherefore he thought it convenient to draw up his army, but he determined not to fight.

All the slaves that were taken prisoners giving him cause of suspicion by appearing very busy among the soldiers, were ordered to be slain; but most of the freemen and citizens he dismissed, saying, *That they had more truly been taken by the enemy, than by him; that with them they were captives and slaves indeed, but with him freemen and citizens of Rome.* But he was forced to hide them, and help them to escape privately, perceiving that some of his friends and commanders were implacably bent upon revenge against them. Among the captives there was one Volumnius a mimic, and Saculio a buffoon; of these Brutus took no manner of notice; but his friends brought them before him, and accused them for not refraining, even in that condition, from their abusive jests and scurrilous language. Brutus having his mind taken up with other affairs,

* *Briges* is a corruption of *Phryges*, Phrygians. Those barbarous nations usually supplied that sort of servants, who followed the armies. *Briges*, says Hesychius, οἱ μὲν Φρύγες, οἱ δὲ Βάρεβαροι.

said nothing to their accusation; but the judgment of Messala Corvinus was, that they should be whipped publicly upon a scaffold, and so sent naked to the generals of the enemy, to show them what sort of associates and table-companions were fit for such warriors. At this some who were present laughed; but Publius Casca, he who gave the first wound to Cæsar, said, *That it was not decent to celebrate the obsequies of Cassius with jesting and laughter. But you, O Brutus, says he, will show what esteem you have for the memory of that general, by punishing or preserving those who ridicule and revile him.* To this Brutus, with great indignation, replied, *Why then, Casca, do you tell me of this, and not do yourself what you think is proper?* This answer of Brutus was understood to express his consent to the death of these wretched men; so they were carried away and slain.

After this he gave the soldiers the reward he had promised them; and having slightly reprov'd them, for falling upon the enemy in disorder, without waiting either for the word of battle or command, he promised them, that if they behaved well in the next engagement, he would give them up two cities to spoil and plunder, Thessalonica and Lacedæmon. This is the only inexcusable fault in the life of Brutus. For if in the end Antony and Cæsar were much more cruel in the rewards they gave their soldiers after victory; if they drove out almost all the old inhabitants of Italy, to put the soldiers in possession of other mens lands and cities; it is well known that their only design, in undertaking the war, was to obtain dominion and empire. Whereas such was Brutus's reputation for virtue, that he could not be allowed either to conquer, or to save himself, but by means truly just and honourable; especially after the death of Cassius, who was generally accused of prompting Brutus to some violent and unjust actions. But as mariners, when

the rudder of the ship is broken by a storm, fit and nail on some other piece of wood instead of it, striving against the danger not so well indeed as before, but as well as in that necessity they can ; so Brutus being at the head of so great an army, and engaged in such weighty affairs, and having no commander equal to so great a charge, was forced to make use of such as he had, and to do and to say many things according to their advice, which he chiefly followed in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of Cassius's soldiers into better order. For they were grown very head-strong and untractable, bold and insolent in the camp for want of their general, but in the field cowardly and fearful from the remembrance of their defeat. Neither were the affairs of Cæsar and Antony in any better posture ; for they were straitened for want of provisions, and the camp being in a low ground, they expected to endure a very hard and sickly winter. For being encompassed with marshes, and a great quantity of rain, as is usual in autumn, having fallen after the battle, their tents were all filled with mire and water, which through the coldness of the weather froze immediately.

While they were in this condition, there was news brought to them of their loss at sea. For Brutus's fleet fell upon theirs, which was bringing a great supply of soldiers out of Italy, and so entirely defeated it, that very few escaped, and they were forced by famine to feed upon the sails and tackle of the ships. As soon as they heard this, they made what haste they could to come to a battle, before Brutus had notice of his good success. For it happened, that the fight both by sea and land was on the same day ; but by some misfortune, rather than the fault of his commanders, Brutus knew not of his victory till twenty days after. For had he been informed of it, he would never have come to a second battle, since he had sufficient provisions

visions for his army for a long time, and was very advantageously posted, his camp being safe from the injuries of the weather, and almost inaccessible to the enemy ; and his being absolute master of the sea, and his having at land been victorious on that side where he himself was engaged, would have very much encouraged him. But it seems that the Roman state could not endure any longer to be governed by many, but necessarily required a monarchy, and that Providence therefore, in order to remove out of the way the only man who was able to resist him who was destined to it, prevented Brutus from hearing of that important victory till it was too late ; though he was just upon the point of receiving the intelligence ; for the very evening before the fight, one Clodius, a deserter from the enemy, came to tell him, that Cæsar had received advice of the loss of his fleet, and for that reason was in such haste to come to a battle. This relation met with no credit, neither was he admitted into Brutus's presence, but was utterly despised as one who was ill informed, or had invented a lie on purpose to recommend himself to favour.

The same night, they say, the vision appeared again to Brutus. in the same shape that it did before, but vanished without speaking. But Publius Volumnius (a man addicted to the study of philosophy, and one who had from the beginning borne arms with Brutus) makes no mention of this prodigy ; but he says, that the first standard was covered with a swarm of bees ; and that there was one of the captains, whose arm of itself sweated oil of roses, and though they often dried and wiped it, yet it would not cease. He also says, that immediately before the battle, two eagles falling upon each other, fought in the space between the two armies ; that the whole field kept incredible silence, and all were intent upon the spectacle, till at last that which was on the side of Brutus yielded and fled. But

the story of the Ethiopian is very famous, who meeting the standard-bearer when the gate of the camp was opened, was cut to pieces by the soldiers, who interpreted that circumstance as an unlucky omen. Brutus having brought his army into the field, and set them in array against the enemy, paused a long while before he gave the word. For as he was visiting the ranks, he grew suspicious of some, and heard accusations against others. Besides, he perceived the horse were not disposed to begin the fight with any vigour or resolution, but were still expecting what the foot would do. And then on a sudden Camulatus, a very good soldier, and one whom for his valour he highly esteemed, riding close by Brutus himself, went over to the enemy; the sight of which grieved him exceedingly. So that partly out of anger, and partly out of fear of some greater treason and desertion, he immediately led on his forces against the enemy about three in the afternoon. Brutus on his side had the better, violently charging the enemy's left wing, which gave way and retreated; and the horse too fell in together with the foot, when they saw them put into disorder. But the other wing, when their commanders ordered them to advance, fearing they might be encompassed, being fewer in number than their adversaries, spread themselves, and by that means so weakened their ranks in the middle, that they could not withstand the enemy, but fled at the first onset. After their defeat, the enemy immediately surrounded Brutus, who performed all that was possible for an expert general and valiant soldier; showing in the greatest danger such courage and conduct as deserved to overcome. But that which gained him the victory in the first engagement, made him lose it in the second. * For in the first fight, that part which was beaten was cut

* This passage is very obscure in the original, and perhaps defective.

in pieces upon the spot ; but in this, where Brutus broke through every thing that opposed him, of all the troops in Cassius's army, which were overthrown in the left wing, very few were slain, and they who escaped being still terrified with the first defeat spread confusion and fear through the rest of the army. Here Marcus the son of Cato was slain fighting in the midst of the noblest and bravest of the youth. He would neither fly nor give ground ; but still fighting and declaring who he was, and calling himself by his father's name, he fell upon a heap of dead bodies of the enemy. Many others of the bravest men in the army who ran in and exposed themselves to save Brutus, were likewise slain at the same time. Among the rest was one Lucilius, a good man, and a friend of Brutus. He seeing some of the Barbarian horse taking no notice of any other in the pursuit, but riding at full speed towards Brutus, resolved to stop them, though with the hazard of his own life ; and being left a little behind, he told them, that he was Brutus. They believed him the rather, because he desired to be carried to Antony, pretending that he feared Cæsar, but could trust him. They overjoyed with their prey, and thinking themselves wonderfully fortunate, carried him along with them in the night, having first sent some of their own party with an account of this good news to Antony, who was extremely pleased when he heard it, and went out to meet them. All the rest likewise, when they heard that Brutus was taken and brought alive, flocked together to see him ; some pitying his fortune, others accusing him of a meanness unbecoming his former glory, in suffering himself, from a fondness for life, to become a prey to Barbarians.

As they approached towards him, Antony halted a little, and considered with himself in what manner he should receive Brutus. But Lucilius being

brought up to him, with great intrepidity said, *Be assured, Antony, that no enemy either has taken, or ever shall take Marcus Brutus alive; (forbid it, ye gods, that fortune should ever so much prevail against virtue!); but let him be found, alive or dead, he will certainly be found in such a state as is worthy of him. As for me, I am come hither by a cheat which I put upon your soldiers, and am ready, upon this occasion, to suffer whatever torments you may inflict.* Lucilius having spoken thus, all that heard him were greatly astonished. Then Antony turning to those who brought him, said, *I perceive, my fellow-soldiers, that you are displeased at having been thus imposed upon by Lucilius. But be assured that you have met with a booty better than that you sought; for you were in search of an enemy, but you have brought me here a friend. For indeed I am uncertain how I should have used Brutus, if you had brought him alive; but of this I am sure, that it is better to have such men as Lucilius our friends, than our enemies.* Having said this, he embraced Lucilius, and for the present committed him to the care of one of his friends, and ever after found him faithful and steady to his interest.

Brutus having passed a little brook encompassed with rocks and shaded with trees, and being overtaken by the night, went not far, but made a stop in a hollow place at the foot of a great rock, with a few of his captains and friends about him. There casting his eyes up to heaven, which was at that time full of stars, he repeated two verses, one of which, as Volumnius writes, was this,

*Punish, great Jove, the author of these ills *.*

The other, he says, he had forgot. Soon after, naming severally all his friends that had been slain before his face in the battle, he fetched a deep sigh, especially at the mention of Flavius and Labo, one

* This line is in the *Medea* of Euripides.

of whom was his lieutenant, and the other master of his workmen. In the mean time, one of his companions who was very thirsty, and saw Brutus in the same condition, took his helmet, and ran to the brook for water; when a noise being heard from the other side of the river, Volumnius taking Dardanus, Brutus's armour-bearer, with him, went out to see what it was. They returned in a short time, and asked what was become of the water? Brutus very calmly smiling, said to Volumnius, *It is all drunk, but you shall have some more fetched immediately.* But he who had brought the first water being sent again had like to have been taken by the enemy, from whom he escaped with much difficulty, and not without being wounded.

Brutus conjecturing that he had not lost many of his men in the fight, Statyllius undertook to pass through the enemy (for there was no other way), and to see what was become of their camp; and promised, that if he found all things there safe, to hold up a torch for a signal, and then return. Statyllius got safe to the camp, and held up the torch; but not returning so soon as he was expected, Brutus said, *If Statyllius be alive, he will come back.* But it happened, that in his return he fell into the enemies hands, and was slain. The night now being far spent, Brutus, as he was sitting, leaned his head towards his servant Clitus, and whispered something to him. Clitus returned him no answer, but fell a-weeping. After that, he drew aside his armour-bearer Dardanus, and had some discourse with him in private. At last, speaking to Volumnius in Greek, he conjured him by their common studies and pursuit of philosophy, to take hold of his sword, and help him to give the thrust. Volumnius refused it, as did several others; and one of them saying, *That there was no staying there, but they needs must fly,* Brutus, rising up, said, *Yes indeed, we must fly, but not with our feet, but with*
our

our hands. Then taking each of them by the hand, with a cheerful countenance he said, *That he found an infinite satisfaction in this, that none of his friends had been false to him: and that as for fortune, he was angry with that, only for his country's sake. As for himself, he thought he was much more happy than they who had overcome; not only in respect of what was past, but even in his present condition; since he was now leaving behind him such a reputation for virtue, as none of the conquerors, with all their arms and riches, would ever be able to acquire; for they could not hinder posterity from believing and saying, that being unjust and wicked men, they had destroyed the just and the good, to obtain an empire to which they had no right.* After this, having exhorted and besought all about him to provide for their own safety, he withdrew from them with two or three only of his peculiar friends. Strato was one of these, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance when they both studied rhetoric together. Him he placed next to himself; and taking hold of the hilt of his sword, and directing it with both his hands, he fell upon it, and killed himself. Some say, that not he himself, but Strato, at the earnest entreaty of Brutus, turning aside his head, held the sword; and that Brutus threw himself upon it with so much violence that entering at his breast it passed quite through his body; upon which he expired immediately.

Some time after this, Messala, one of Brutus's friends and companions, having made his peace with Cæsar, one day when he found him at leisure presented this Strato to him, and with tears in his eyes said, *This, O Cæsar, is the man that did the last friendly service to my beloved Brutus.* Upon which Cæsar received him kindly, and found him afterwards very useful to him, particularly at the battle of Actium, where he served him among the rest of the valiant Greeks. It is reported of Messala himself, that when Cæsar once gave him this commendation,

dation, that though he was his fiercest enemy at Philippi, in the cause of Brutus, yet he had showed himself his most zealous friend in the battle of Actium; he answered, *I have always been, Cæsar, on the best and justest side.* When Antony had found the body of Brutus, he commanded the richest robe that he had to be thrown over it; and afterwards the robe being stolen, he found the thief, and put him to death; and then sent the ashes of Brutus to his mother Servilia. As for Porcia his wife, Nicolaus * the philosopher, and Valerius Maximus write, that desiring to die, but being hindered by her friends, who continually watched her, she snatched some burning coals out of the fire, and shutting them close in her mouth, stifled herself, and died; though there is yet extant a letter of Brutus to his friends, in which he laments the death of Porcia, and upbraids them for neglecting her so, that she desired to die, rather than languish under her disease. So that it seems Nicolaus was mistaken in the time. For this epistle (if indeed it is authentic) describes the disease, as well as the conjugal affection of Porcia, and the manner of her death.

The Comparison of DION with BRUTUS.

AMong many things which claim our admiration in both these men, one of the chief is, that from inconsiderable helps they attained to such greatness; and in this respect Dion has the advantage: for he had no partner, none to share the glory, as Brutus had in Cassius, who though he had not indeed that reputation for virtue and honour,

* This was Nicolaus Damascenus a Peripatetic philosopher, and an intimate friend of Augustus. He wrote an universal history in a hundred and forty books.

yet was not inferiour to him in activity, courage, and experience in war. Some impute to him the rise and beginning of the whole action, saying, that if it had not been for him Brutus would never have engaged in it. Whereas Dion seems not only of himself to have provided arms, ships, and soldiers, but likewise friends and partners for the enterprize. Neither did he, as Brutus, acquire from the war any strength or riches, but expended his own fortune, and employed that wealth on which he was to subsist during his exile, for the liberty of his country. Besides, Brutus and Cassius, when they fled from Rome, knowing that they could live nowhere in repose and safety, but that they were condemned and pursued, were forced to have recourse to war, and to take up arms, and hazard their lives, in their own defence, and to save themselves rather than their country. On the contrary, Dion was more easy and happy in his banishment than the tyrant who banished him; notwithstanding which he voluntarily exposed himself to the utmost danger that he might preserve Sicily.

Neither was it the same thing to deliver the Romans from Cæsar, and the Syracusans from Dionysius. For he owned himself a tyrant, and harassed Sicily with a thousand oppressions. Whereas Cæsar, whilst he was forming and establishing his government was indeed at first injurious to those who opposed him; but as soon as he had got every thing in his power, it appeared that the tyranny was rather nominal than real, since no cruel or tyrannical action could be charged upon him. On the contrary, he made it evident, that the necessity of affairs requiring a monarch, Providence had committed the cure of the distempers of the state to him who was the ablest and gentlest physician. Accordingly the common people immediately regretted his loss, and were implacably enraged against those who killed him. On the contrary, Dion was chiefly

chiefly accused and reproached by the citizens for having let Dionysius escape, and for not having dug up the former tyrant's grave.

As to their military exploits, Dion was a commander without fault, improving to the utmost those counsels which he himself gave, and, where others failed, happily correcting and repairing the error. Whereas Brutus showed a weakness of conduct in coming to a second engagement when all was at stake; and when he had lost it, he knew not how to find any resource, but grew heartless and dispirited, and had not, like Pompey, the courage to make head against fortune, though he had still ground enough to rely on his troops, and his fleet made him absolute master at sea.

The greatest reproach that is thrown upon Brutus is, that though he owed his own life to Cæsar's favour, and had obtained from him the pardon of all his fellow-prisoners for whom he interceded, that though he was treated by him as a friend, and received from him particular marks of honour and esteem, yet, notwithstanding all this, he with his own hands assassinated him. Nothing like this could be objected against Dion. On the contrary, as he was Dionysius's relation and friend, he assisted him in his government, and was useful to him; but when he was driven from his country, wronged in his wife, and deprived of his estate, he openly entered upon a war, in itself both just and honourable.

But even this circumstance, if considered in another view, will prove to the advantage of Brutus. For the chief glory of both consists in their hatred of tyrants, and abhorrence of their wickedness. This was pure and sincere in Brutus; for he had no private quarrel with Cæsar, but exposed himself to danger, merely for the liberty of his country. The other, had he not been personally injured, had not fought. This is plain from Plato's epistles, where

where it is shown, that he did not forsake the court, but was banished from it, and in consequence of his expulsion made war upon Dionysius. Besides, the consideration of the public good reconciled Brutus to Pompey, and of an enemy made him a friend; and the same consideration made him Cæsar's enemy; so that he proposed for his enmity and his friendship no other measure and rule but justice. Dion was very serviceable to Dionysius whilst in favour; but the moment he was in disgrace he grew angry, and took up arms against him. For which reason his friends were not all of them satisfied with his undertaking, fearing lest having overcome Dionysius, he might seize the government into his own hands, and delude the people by some milder and more popular name than that of tyranny. But as for Brutus, his very enemies confessed, that, of all those who conspired against Cæsar, he was the only person, who from the beginning to the end had no other view than to restore to the Romans their ancient form of government,

Beside this, the attempt against Dionysius was by no means equal to that against Cæsar. For of all those who were familiarly conversant with Dionysius, there was not one but despised him for spending all his time in drinking, gaming, and debauchery. Whereas it was an argument of a spirit that was a stranger to fear, to entertain so much as a thought against Cæsar, and not to stand in awe of the great abilities and experience, the vast power and unparalleled good fortune of a man, the bare mention of whose name struck such terror into the kings of Parthia and India as perpetually disturbed their slumbers. Accordingly Dion no sooner appeared in Sicily, but thousands ran in to him, and joined him against Dionysius; whereas the renown of Cæsar, even when dead, gave heart to his friends: and his very name so dignified the person that assumed

sumed it, that from an insignificant boy he soon became the chief of the Romans; it being a kind of charm which he used against the enmity and the power of Antony.

But if it be objected, that it cost Dion great trouble and many difficulties to overcome the tyrant, whereas Brutus slew Cæsar naked and unprovided; this shows consummate policy and conduct in those who could contrive that a man so guarded and fortified should be taken naked and unprovided. For it was not on a sudden, nor alone, nor with a few, that he fell upon and killed Cæsar; but after the plot had been long concerted, and intrusted to a great many persons, not one of whom deceived him: for he either discerned the best men at the first view, or by confiding in them, made them good. Whereas Dion confided in men of ill principles; so that he either chose them injudiciously, or else they grew worse after he had engaged them, because he did not know how to make a right use of them; neither of which is the property of a wise man. Accordingly Plato severely reproves him in his letters for making choice of such for his friends, as in the end were the cause of his ruin.

Dion had no honours paid him after his death; whereas Brutus was honourably buried even by his enemy Antony; and Cæsar allowed of the public marks of respect that were shown him by others, as appears by the following instance. A statue of Brutus had been erected at Milan, a town in Gallia Cisalpina. Some time after Cæsar going through that place, observed the statue, which was of excellent workmanship, and strongly resembled the original; he then passed on, but presently stopping, he, in the presence of many who accompanied him, called the magistrates before him, and told them *that their town had broken the league, and harboured one of his enemies.* At first the magistrates, as it may

easily be imagined, denied the fact, and not knowing what he meant looked upon one another with great surprise. He then pointing to the statue, asked them with a frown, *Is not that my enemy who stands there?* At these words the magistrates being still more astonished stood silent. But Cæsar smiling, commended the Gauls for their constancy to their friends, though in adversity, and commanded that the statue should remain where it was.

THE

T H E L I F E O F ARTAXERXES *.

THE first of the Persian kings who bore the name of Artaxerxes, was distinguished above other princes for his goodness and magnanimity, and was surnamed *Longimanus*, because his right hand was longer than his left. He was the son of Xerxes. The second, whose life I am now writing, and who for his extraordinary memory was styled *Mnemon*, was his grandson by his daughter Parysatis. Darius had four sons by Parysatis, the eldest Artaxerxes, the next Cyrus, and two younger than these, Ostanes and Oxathres. Cyrus received his name from the ancient Cyrus; and they say that he had his name from the sun, which in the Persian language is called *Cyrus*. Artaxerxes was at first called *Arscas*, though Dinon says his first name was *Oartes*. But it is highly improbable, that Ctesias † (though otherwise he has filled his book with a medley of in-

* We are now come to the end of all the parallel lives that remain of Plutarch. The four which follow, and conclude this great work, are of another kind, being quite distinct from each other. Plutarch wrote many others in the same manner, viz. the lives of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Vitellius, Hercules, Hesiod, Pindar, Demophantus, and Aristomenes.

† This Ctesias was born at Cnidos, and wrote a history of the Persian and Assyrian affairs.

credible and senseless fables) should be ignorant of the name of the king, as he was physician to him, his wife, his mother, and children.

Cyrus, even from his infancy, seemed to be of a violent and impetuous nature; Artaxerxes, on the contrary, appeared moderate and gentle in his disposition and behaviour. He married a beautiful and virtuous woman with the consent of his parents; but he kept her afterwards against their inclination. For King Darius having put her brother to death, was projecting how to destroy her likewise. But Articas interceded for her with his mother, and at last by his tears persuaded her to consent that his wife should neither be put to death, nor divorced from him. However, Cyrus was the queen's favourite son, and him she was desirous to settle on the throne. Wherefore Darius being taken dangerously ill, she recalled her son from his government in Lydia; and he returned to court, full of hopes, that by her means he should be declared his father's successor in the empire. For Parysatis urged this specious plea in his behalf, which Xerxes, by the advice of Demaratus had formerly made use of, *that she had brought forth Articas when her husband was a subject, but Cyrus when he was a king.* Notwithstanding this she could not prevail with Darius; so that the eldest son was declared king under the name of *Artaxerxes*, and Cyrus was confirmed in his government of Lydia, and the maritime provinces.

Soon after the death of Darius, the new king set out from his capital for the city of Pasargadæ *, in order to be consecrated as king by the priests of Persia. In that city is a temple of a goddess, who

* This city was built by Cyrus the Great, who granted it many privileges, because in that place he defeated Astyages, and acquired the crown as the fruit of his victory. Ptolemy calls it *Pasacarta*. It is now called by the inhabitants *Darabegard*, and by the Arabs *Valasgard*.

presides over war, and who perhaps is the same with Minerva. The person who is to be consecrated enters into this temple, where he divests himself of his own robe, and puts on that which was worn by Cyrus the First before he obtained the crown; then he eats a lump of figs, chaws some turpentine, and drinks a draught of sour milk; to which if any other rites are added, they are unknown to all but those who perform them. Just as Artaxerxes was disposing himself for the performance of this ceremony, Tisaphernes arrived, and brought with him a priest, who had been preceptor to Cyrus in his infancy, had taught him the doctrine of the Magi, and was more concerned than any when his pupil was excluded from the throne. For this reason his veracity was the less questioned, when he accused Cyrus of having formed a design to lie in wait for his brother in the temple, to fall upon him as he was pulling off his robe, and assassinate him. Some affirm that he was apprehended upon this accusation, others that he had entered the temple, and was pointed out there by the priest, as he lay concealed. But when they were going to put him to death, his mother clasped him in her arms, covered him with her hair, and joined his neck close to her own, and by her lamentations, tears, and entreaties, obtained his pardon, and got him remanded back to his government. But he was much dissatisfied with his situation there, and forgetting his brother's mercy towards him, thought only of the affront put upon him when he was taken prisoner, so that his resentment made him more eager to obtain the kingdom than before. Some say he revolted from his brother, because he had not a revenue proportionable to the daily expense he was at in the support of his family. But this is absurd. For had he had nothing else, yet he had a mother who was ready to supply him with whatever he could desire. Besides, what greater evidence

can there be of his immense wealth, than the number of foreign troops, which, as we are informed by Xenophon, he maintained in several parts by the means of his friends? For, the better to conceal his preparations, he did not keep his forces in one body, but had his emissaries abroad, who under several pretences listed foreign soldiers into his service. In the mean time Parysatis, who resided constantly at court with the king her son, removed all his jealousies, whilst Cyrus on his part wrote in most submissive terms to Artaxerxes, sometimes soliciting him for some favour, and at others recriminating on Tisaphernes *, as if all his designs were against him, and he was the only object of his envy. Besides, there was a natural dilatoriness in the king, which was mistaken by many for clemency. And indeed in the beginning of his reign he seemed to imitate the gentleness of the first Artaxerxes, being kind and affable to all who approached him, and liberal to profuseness in the distribution of honours and rewards to the deserving; and even the punishments he inflicted were never attended with reproach and insult. In the intercourse of gifts he seemed equally pleased with those who offered them to him, as with those who received them from him. When he gave, it was in the most graceful and obliging manner; nor was there any thing, however inconsiderable, offered to him, which he did not kindly accept; insomuch, that when one Omises had presented him with a pomegranate of a very extraordinary size, *By Mithras, said he, this man, were he intrusted with it, would soon turn a small city into a great one.* Another time, when he was upon a journey, some offered him one thing, some another; and a certain poor labourer, having got nothing in readiness to present to him,

* He had taken from him all the principal towns in his province of Ionia, except Miletus, which he was then besieging. This helped to impose upon Artaxerxes, who believed the levies Cyrus was making were designed against Tisaphernes.

ran to the river-side, and taking up some water in his hands presented him with that. Artaxerxes was so well pleased, that he sent him a golden cup, and a thousand Darici in return. When Euclidas the Lacedæmonian had said many insolent things to him, he sent him this message by the captain of his guards, *Thou hast liberty to speak to the king what thou wilt, but the king has it in his power not only to speak, but do what he pleases.* One day as he was hunting, Tiri-bazus showed him a large rent in his robe; and when the king asked him what he would advise him to do on that occasion, he answered, *Put on another, and give me that; It shall be so,* said the king, *I give it thee, but at the same time charge thee never to wear it.* Tiri-bazus paid no regard to this injunction, (not that he was a bad man, but only simple and wrong-headed), but put it on immediately, and added besides such jewels and ornaments of gold as the queens of Persia only had a right to wear. All the court were provoked at this insult, for it was expressly contrary to law; but the king only laughed at him, and told him, *Thou hast my leave to wear those golden toys as a woman, and the robe of state as a madman.*

It had always been the custom for none to sit down to eat with the king beside his mother and wife, the former being placed above, the other below him; but Artaxerxes invited also to his table his two younger brothers, Oftanes and Oxathres. But the chariot of his wife Statira presented the Persians with the most pleasing sight, being always drawn with its curtains open; so that the women of the country were allowed to salute and approach her. These things endeared his government to the people. Yet some busy, factious men, who delighted in innovations, pretended that Cyrus, being a man of a great spirit, an excellent warrior, and a generous master, was in those circumstances more desirable, and that the largeness of their empire

pire absolutely required a daring and ambitious prince. Wherefore Cyrus relying upon the disposition the court was in towards him, as much as upon the good-will of those in the maritime provinces where he commanded, resolved upon the war. In the first place, he wrote to the Lacedæmonians, desiring them to assist him, and to supply him with some soldiers, assuring them that to the foot he would give horses, and to the horsemen chariots; that upon those who had farms he would bestow villages, and that those who were lords of villages should receive cities. To all this he added, that the pay of the soldiers should not be counted, but measured out to them. At the same time speaking very extravagantly of himself, he said that he had a greater soul, was a better philosopher, understood more of the doctrines of the Magi, and could drink and bear more wine than his brother Artaxerxes. He said further, that his brother was timorous and effeminate, that he could not sit steadily on his horse when hunting, nor in his chariot when in action. The Lacedæmonians, upon reading his letters, sent a Scytale to Cliarchus, commanding him to pay an absolute obedience to Cyrus's orders. Cyrus therefore marched against the king, having under his conduct a numerous army of barbarians, and but little less than thirteen thousand stipendiary Grecians. He sometimes assigned one cause, and sometimes another for his expedition. Yet the true reason lay not long concealed, for Tisaphernes went to the king in person to declare it. This occasioned a great tumult in the court; Parysatis bore the chief blame of the enterprize, and all her friends were suspected and accused. But the person who gave her the most uneasiness was Statira, who being deeply afflicted at this war, cried out, *Where now are your promises? Where are your intercessions, by which having saved him who attempted the life of his brother, you have kindled this war, and plunged us into such calamities?*

Parysatis,

Paryfatis, who was naturally violent in her anger and implacably revengeful, so hated Statira for these expressions, that she contrived to destroy her. Dinon the historian tells us that her design was executed during the war; but Ctesias affirms that it was some time after; and it is not likely that he should be ignorant of this, as he was an eye-witness of every thing that passed at that court; nor had he any reason to falsify in relating the time when this happened, though upon other occasions he frequently swerves from the truth, and fills his history with the most fabulous and extravagant accounts. I shall therefore relate this in the order in which he has placed it.

While Cyrus was upon his march, tidings were brought him from all parts that the king was not in haste to come to action, but determined to wait in the heart of Persia, till his forces were collected from all parts of his dominions. And though he had caused a trench to be dug across the flat country ten fathom wide, and as many deep *, and extending in length four hundred furlongs, yet he suffered Cyrus to pass it, and to continue his march towards Babylon. We are told that Tiribazus was the first who ventured to represent to him that he ought not to decline a battle, nor to abandon Media, Babylon, and Susa, and hide himself in Persia, since he had an army far more numerous than that of the enemy, and ten thousand satrapæ, and other officers, all of them superiour to Cyrus both in courage and conduct.

These words made the king resolve upon fighting; and on a sudden he appeared at the head of an army of nine hundred thousand men, all well-disciplined and prepared for action. This extremely startled and surpris'd the rebels, who had such a confidence in themselves, and contempt of their e-

* Xenophon says that this trench was five fathom wide and three deep.

nemies,

nemies, that they marched in great confusion and even without their arms; and it was with great difficulty that Cyrus could draw them up in order of battle, which however was at last executed, though in a very noisy and tumultuous manner. The king in the mean time led on his men leisurely, and in great silence. This fight very much surprised the Grecians, who expected to have found nothing but disorder and confusion in so great a multitude, and to have seen them furiously springing forward with strange and hideous outcries. Artaxerxes very judiciously covered the front of his phalanx which was opposite to the Grecians with the strongest of his armed chariots, that by the fierceness of their onset they might cut down their ranks before they came to close combat.

Many historians have given us a description of this action, but no one with so much force as Xenophon, who almost represents it before our eyes, and describes it with such clearness, that the reader is as sensibly affected as if he himself was engaged, and shared in the danger. It must therefore be the utmost folly to attempt a narration of it after him; so that I shall content myself with relating some particulars worthy to be mentioned, which he has forgotten or omitted. The place in which the two armies engaged was called *Cunaxa*, and was about five hundred furlongs distant from Babylon. A little before the fight Clearchus advised Cyrus not to expose his person, but retire behind the Macedonians*; upon which Cyrus is said to have replied, *What advice is this thou givest me, Clearchus? Must I, at the same time that I am aiming at the kingdom, show myself unworthy of it?*

Cyrus committed a great error in rushing headlong into the midst of danger without any precaution; and Clearchus was guilty of another as great,

* As no writer mentions the Macedonians as being concerned in this expedition, some conjecture that we should read Lacedæmonians.

if not greater, when, instead of drawing up his Grecians against the main body of the enemy where the king stood, he joined his right wing to the river for fear of being surrounded. For if he had nothing else in view but his own safety, and was principally concerned not to receive any hurt himself, he ought to have kept at home. But after a march of ten thousand furlongs from the sea to the plains of Babylon, which he had voluntarily undertaken only that he might settle Cyrus on the throne, now to draw up his men, not in a place where he might be able to defend his general whose pay he received, but where he might engage at ease, and with safety, was to act like one who was so shocked at the sense of the present danger, as to abandon all concern about the main enterprise, and forget the very end and design of his expedition. For it is certain from the event, that none of those who were posted near the king's person would have stood the Grecians if they had charged them; and if they had been broken, and the king either slain, or put to flight, Cyrus must have been conquerour, and his victory would have procured him the crown. And therefore Clearchus is more to be condemned for his caution which proved the destruction of Cyrus, than Cyrus himself for his rashness. For if the king himself had been to make choice of a place for the Grecians, where it would be least in their power to hurt him, he could not have chosen one more proper than that which was at such a distance from him, and from that part of the army where he fought, that he knew not of the defeat of his own troops near the river, and Cyrus fell before he could receive any benefit from the victory of Clearchus. Cyrus indeed before the battle knew very well what measures were proper to be taken, and accordingly ordered Clearchus to charge in the centre, where the king was posted; but Clearchus ruined all, though he had assured him

him that he would do every thing for the best. For the Grecians soon overthrew the Barbarians with whom they engaged, and pursued them a great way. Cyrus being mounted on a headstrong unruly horse called *Pasacas*, was met, as Ctesias relates it, by Artagerfes general of the Cadusians, who seeing him at a distance galloped up to him, crying aloud, *O thou most wicked and senseless wretch, who art a reproach to the name of Cyrus, the most august and honourable of all names among the Persians; thou hast engaged these vile Grecians in a fatal expedition, promising them the plunder of thy country, and hoping to destroy thy sovereign and brother, who has millions of servants about him more valiant than thyself, as thou shalt soon find; for here shalt thou this instant lose thy head, before thou hast so much as beheld the face of the king.* At these words he threw his javelin at him with all his force; but it made no impression upon his armour; however the violence of the blow was so great, that it made him stagger as he sat on his horse: but as Artagerfes was turning his horse about, Cyrus aimed his javelin at him so successfully, that it pierced his neck near the collar-bone. That Artagerfes was slain by Cyrus, is acknowledged by almost all the historians. But as for the death of Cyrus, since Xenophon says very little of it, because he was not upon the spot when it happened, it will not be amiss to relate here the manner of it as it is represented by Dinon, and then subjoin the account of it as we find it in Ctesias.

Dinon tells us that immediately upon the death of Artagerfes, Cyrus having violently attacked the vanguard of Artaxerxes, wounded his horse, and dismounted him; but Tiribazus immediately mounted him on another horse, and said to him, *Sir, remember this day, which ought never to be forgotten.* Cyrus attacked the king a second time, and again dismounted him: but at the third charge, the king, full of indignation, said to some who were near him,

him, *I had better die than suffer this* ; and making up to Cyrus, who was blindly rushing into a shower of the enemy's darts, he wounded him with his javelin at the same time that he was assaulted from every quarter. Thus fell Cyrus, as some say, by the blow he received from the king ; but, according to others, he was slain by a Carian soldier, to whom the king, in recompense of that action, granted the privilege of bearing a golden cock on the point of his spear at the head of the army. For the Persians call the Carians *cocks*, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets.

Ctesias's account, which I have considerably abridged, is this. After Cyrus had slain Artagerfes, he rode up towards the king, and the king advanced to meet him, neither of them speaking a word. Ariæus, a friend of Cyrus, first attacked the king, without wounding him. Then the king threw his javelin at Cyrus ; but it missed him, and killed Tisaphernes, a brave man and faithful servant of Cyrus. Upon this Cyrus directed his javelin against his brother ; the weapon pierced his cuirass, entered two fingers deep into his breast, and made him tumble from off his horse. This terrified his troops, who immediately fled. The king, as soon as he recovered from his fall, retired with a few of his followers, among whom was Ctesias, to a little hill not far off, where he reposed himself. But Cyrus's horse being high mettled, carried him a great way into the midst of his enemies, the approaching night rendering it difficult for them to know him, or his followers to find him. However, being flushed with victory, and withal naturally bold and violent, he passed through them, crying out in the Persian language, *Make way, ye slaves*. As he repeated these words many times, most of them made way for him out of respect. But his tiara happening to fall from his head, a young Persian named *Mithridates* who was running by,

wounded him with his javelin in the temple near his eye, without knowing who he was. His wound bled so fast that he was immediately seized with a dizziness, and fell in a swoon from his horse, which having lost his rider ran up and down the field at large; but a person belonging to him who had wounded Cyrus, found the furniture upon the ground, and took it up all stained with blood.

When Cyrus began to recover from his fit, the few eunuchs who attended him endeavoured to mount him upon another horse, and so to convey him safe away; but finding himself in no condition to get on horseback, he thought it better to walk, whilst his eunuchs taking him by each arm supported him. His head was still stunned with the blow, and he staggered at every step he took. However he imagined himself victorious, as he heard the fugitives from every side calling Cyrus *King*, and crying out for quarter.

In the mean time some Caunians, a miserable crew who followed the royal army, where they gained a livelihood from the meanest employments, happened to mix with those who were attending Cyrus, thinking them their friends. But having at last perceived the red cloathing which his soldiers wore, they found they were got among their enemies; for the king's soldiers wore white. One of these had the boldness to strike him with his spear behind, without knowing who he was. The weapon piercing his ham cut the sinew, so that he fell down immediately, and in his fall dashing his wounded temple against a stone, expired that moment. This is Ctesias's account, wherein he seems to hack Cyrus to death with a blunt knife, and to have much ado to kill him at last.

Cyrus was just expired when Artafyras, who was called *the eye of the king* *, passed that way on horseback.

* The Persian monarchs had a set of ministers, who were called *the eyes*

back. He knew the eunuchs; and seeing them weeping and lamenting, he addressed himself to him whom he took to be the most faithful to his master, and said, *Tell me, Pariscas, over whose body art thou thus lamenting?* O Artasyras, replied the eunuch, *see you not that Cyrus is dead?* Artasyras was greatly surprised; and having spoken to the eunuch in a kind and encouraging manner, he bid him take care of the corpse, and immediately rode full speed to Artaxerxes, who began to think his affairs in a desperate condition, and was ready to faint with thirst as well as from the anguish of his wound, when Artasyras came up, and with an air of triumph told him that he had seen Cyrus dead. The king at first was impatient to see the dead body himself, and accordingly commanded Artasyras to conduct him to it. But when he observed a general consternation spread around, and it was credibly reported that the Grecians had prevailed on their side, that they were in pursuit of those who fled, and put all to the sword, he resolved to send out a stronger party to inquire into the truth of what Artasyras had told him. Accordingly thirty men went with torches in their hands for that purpose. In the mean time he being almost expiring for want of something to allay his thirst, Satibarzanes one of his eunuchs ran up and down in search of water; for the place where they were afforded none, and they were at a great distance from their camp. After a long search, he at last

eyes of the king, and whose business it was to report to him whatever they saw in his dominions; and others were called *the ears of the king*, because they informed him of whatever they heard. Aristotle speaks of this in the sixteenth chapter of the third book of his politics. "It is absurd," says he, "to think that one man can see more with two eyes, hear more with two ears, and do more with two hands and two feet than many men together. For this reason we find those monarchs provide themselves with many eyes, many ears, many feet, and many hands, and associate to them those whom they find well affected to their persons, and their country, &c." Aristophanes ridicules this title of *the eye of the king*, in his *Acharnenses*, act i. sc. ii. and iii.

luckily met with one of those poor Caunian slaves, who had in a dirty leathern bottle about four pints of foul stinking water ; this he took and carried to the king, who drank it all up. The eunuch asked him, *if he did not find it a nauseous potion ; but the king swore by the gods, that no wine, nor the purest water was ever so pleasant to him. And if, said he, I should not be able to find the man who gave it thee, and reward him, I pray the gods to make him rich and prosperous.* No sooner had he said this, but his thirty messengers arrived with joy and triumph in their looks, bringing him the tidings of his unexpected good fortune. And now being encouraged by the great number of his soldiers who flocked to him, he descended into the plain by the light of an infinite number of flambeaux. As soon as he was come to the place where the corpse of his brother lay, and the right hand and head were cut off according to the law of the Persians, he commanded the head to be brought to him ; and holding it by the hair, which was long and bushy, he showed it to his men, who were still wavering and flying. They were all astonished at the sight, and paid him their adorations. He now in a very short time collected about him a body of seventy thousand men, and returned with them to the camp.

Ctesias writes, that Artaxerxes had not in that engagement above four hundred thousand men. But Dinon and Xenophon make the number much greater. As to the number of the slain, Ctesias says that the accounts given in of them to the king made them amount to no more than nine thousand, though they appeared to him to be no less than twenty ; but this article is subject to controversy. That which Ctesias adds, that he was sent by the king with Phayllus the Zacynthian, and some others to the Grecians, is a notorious falsity. For Xenophon knew very well that Ctesias was in the king's service, for he mentions him, and plainly appears

appears to have read his history. It is not therefore likely that if Ctesias had been sent to the Greeks on the part of the king, and had been employed in so important a service, Xenophon would have omitted his name any more than that of Phayllus. But Ctesias (as it is evident) being strangely vain-glorious, and a great favourer of the Lacedæmonians and Clearchus, never fails in his narrative to assume to himself some province which gives him an opportunity of speaking many things to the advantage of Clearchus and Lacedæmon.

When the battle was over, Artaxerxes sent many magnificent presents to the son of Artagerfes who had been slain by Cyrus. He conferred likewise high honours upon Ctesias and others; and having found out the Caunian, who gave him the bottle of water, he made him of a poor obscure man a person of great wealth and dignity. As for the punishments he inflicted upon delinquents, there was a kind of harmony betwixt them and the crimes. He ordered that one Arbaces a Mede, who during the fight had deserted to Cyrus, and after his death returned back to his post in the army, should take up a whore stark naked, and carry her upon his shoulders a whole day about the market-place, therein condemning him for cowardice and effeminacy, rather than for treason and malignity. Another, beside having deserted, falsely pretended that he had killed two of the enemy: whereupon the king ordered his tongue to be bored through with three awls.

As he verily believed that he had slain Cyrus with his own hand, and was desirous that all the world should believe and say so too, he sent very rich presents to Mithridates, who first wounded him, and ordered those by whom they were sent to tell him, *The king has honoured thee with these presents, because when thou hadst found the trappings belonging to the horse of Cyrus, thou broughtest them to him.* And

when the Carian, who gave Cyrus that wound in the ham, which immediately occasioned his death, sued likewise for his reward, the king granted it, and commanded those who carried it to him, to say in his name, *The king makes thee a present of this for being the second messenger of the good news ; for Artasyras was the first who brought him an account of the death of Cyrus, and thou the second.* As for Mithridates, he retired in discontent and silence. But the unfortunate Carian, by an indiscretion common in weak minds, suffering himself to be so transported by the rich presents he had received, as to form more aspiring wishes and aim at honours far above him, was not content to take the gifts as a recompense for his good news, but giving way to his ill humour, loudly exclaimed and protested that he, and only he, had killed Cyrus, and complained of the great injustice the king did him in depriving him of the glory. The king, being informed of this, was so highly exasperated, that he ordered him to be beheaded. The queen-mother happening to be present at that time, said, *Do not discharge this vile Carian upon such easy terms ; but leave it to me to inflict such a punishment as his insolence deserves.* When the king had delivered him up to Parysatis, she charged the executioners to seize him and stretch him upon the rack for ten days, then to pluck out his eyes, and drop melted brass into his ears till he expired.

Mithridates also, within a short time after, miserably perished by his own folly. For being invited to a feast where the eunuchs of the king and the queen-mother were present, he came dressed in the robe and other ornaments with which the king had presented him. When they were at table, and began to grow warm with wine, Parysatis's chief eunuch said, *Ab ! Mithridates ! how beautiful is this robe ! how fine those chains and bracelets ! and how magnificent is that scimitar ! How happy has the king made thee !*

thee ! Thou art the admiration and envy of all that see thee. Mithridates, who was already drunk, replied, What signify these, Sparamixes ? I that day performed service which deserved much more valuable and magnificent presents. At these words Sparamixes smiling, said, I do not speak to thee out of envy, good Mithridates, but since, as the Greeks say, in wine there is truth, let me ask thee freely, Was it such a magnificent exploit to find the trappings of Cyrus's horse, and carry them to the king ? This he said not because he was ignorant of the truth, but that he might provoke him to speak his mind before witnesses. Accordingly this reproach irritated the vanity of the man, who was now likewise rendered more talkative and rash than usual by the wine he had drunk ; wherefore, being no longer master of his tongue, he replied, You may talk what you please of horse-trappings, and such nonsense, but I tell you plainly that by this hand Cyrus fell. For I did not throw a random dart at him, like Artagereses, but struck him with my javelin near the eye in his temple, and that with so much force, that it penetrated into his head, so that I brought him to the ground, and of that single wound he died. All who were at table foresaw the unfortunate destiny of Mithridates, and turned their eyes upon the ground ; but he who gave the entertainment said to him, Come, Mithridates, let us now eat and drink, and let us adore the fortune of the king, without meddling with points which are so far above us.

Soon after the eunuch went and acquainted Parysatis with all that had passed, and she informed the king, who was exceedingly enraged at it, as having the lie given him, and being deprived of the most glorious and delightful circumstance of his victory. For it was his ambition to have all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, believe, that in the several attacks which were made upon him by his brother, he had been slightly wounded by Cyrus, and that in return he had wounded him mortally.

tally. He therefore ordered that Mithridates should die by the punishment of *the Boat*. This is inflicted after the following manner. They take two boats which fit each other exactly. In one of these they place the criminal on his back, and cover it with the other in such a manner that only the head, the hands, and the feet, appear without, the rest of the body being entirely covered up. In this condition they offer him food; and if he refuses to eat, they force him to it, by running needles into his eyes. When he has fed, they drench him with a mixture of milk and honey; this they pour likewise upon his face, which they keep turned to the sun, that he may have it always in his eyes. By this means his countenance is covered all over with flies; and as he is forced to make such discharges within, which they who eat and drink are of necessity subject to, great plenty of vermin spring out of the corruption of his excrements, and these gnaw his flesh, and penetrate to his very bowels. As soon as it appears that he is dead, they take off the uppermost boat, and find his flesh devoured, and swarms of those noisome creatures still preying upon, and, as it were, growing to his inwards. Mithridates languished under this punishment for seventeen days together, and then expired.

The only person remaining who was to feel the vengeance of Parysatis was Mesabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus. But he being so circumspect in his behaviour that he gave her no advantage against him, she framed the following snare to entrap him. She was a very ingenious woman in other respects, but especially skilful in playing at dice; and before the war she had often played with the king, as she did likewise after it was concluded; and as soon as she was received into favour, she joined in almost all his parties of pleasure, was admitted into the secrets

crets of his amours, and was serviceable to him with his mistresses. In a word, she was as little out of his sight as possible, and very seldom suffered him to be alone with Statira; for she mortally hated her, and was ambitious of being always first in her son's favour.

One day therefore when she found the king at leisure, she proposed to play at dice with him for a thousand Darici. The king consenting, she suffered him to win, and paid the money. But pretending to be concerned for her loss, she pressed him to begin a new game, and offered to play with him for an eunuch; in which he complied with her. It was agreed between them, that each of them might except five of the most faithful eunuchs, and that out of the rest the loser should yield up any the winner should chuse. Upon these conditions they played. Being eager upon her design, and very attentive to her game, and the dice running luckily for her, she won, and pitched upon Mefabates, who was not in the number of the five that had been excepted. As soon as she had got him in her power, before the king had the least suspicion of the vengeance she designed, she delivered him up to the executioners, and commanded them to slay him alive, to fix his body upon three stakes, and to stretch out his skin separately from it. When the king came to be informed of what she had done, he was highly incensed; but she, without the least concern, turned it into a jest, and said to him laughing, *This is pleasant indeed, to be thus concerned for a sorry old eunuch, when I, after I had lost a thousand Darici, paid them without making any complaint.* Artaxerxes was very much concerned, and vexed to find himself so over-reached by her; however, he took no further notice of it. But Statira, who upon other accounts openly opposed her, particularly represented her cruelty and injustice, in destroying, for the

the sake of Cyrus, the king's eunuchs and most faithful servants.

When Tisaphernes, in breach of the most solemn oaths, had seized Clearchus and the other Grecian leaders, and sent them in irons to the king *, Ctesias tells us, that Clearchus requested of him to procure a comb for him; which when he had obtained and used, he was so pleased with it, that in return he presented him with a ring, that if ever he had occasion to go to Sparta, he might produce it to his friends and relations, as a token of the great friendship and respect he had for him; and he says that the sculpture on the stone represented the dance of the Caryatides †. He adds, that the other Grecians, who were Clearchus's fellow-prisoners, intercepted the daily provisions appointed for Clearchus, and retaining the greatest part to themselves allowed him but a small share; that he put a stop to that abuse by causing a larger quantity to be sent to Clearchus, and separating the allowance of the others from his; and that all this was done with the consent and by the favour of Parysatis. He says further, that it being his custom to send him every day a gammon of bacon among his other provisions, Clearchus earnestly entreated him to bury a short dagger in the flesh of one of those gammons, and send it to him, that he might be no longer subject to the cruelty of Artaxerxes. But he says that he refused to grant him that request for fear of the king's displeasure,

* Xenophon in his eleventh book relates at large all that passed at the interview between Clearchus and Tisaphernes. Clearchus going to the tent of Tisaphernes, attended by four of his principal officers and twenty captains, he and the officers were called in, and then seized; but the twenty captains were cut to pieces. Some time afterwards the king commanded Clearchus, and all the four officers, except Menon, to be beheaded.

† Caryä was a town in Laconia where there was a temple of Diana, the whole town being dedicated to Diana, and the nymphs. In the court before the temple stood a statue of Diana Caryatis; and the Spartan virgins came once a-year to dance round it.

and

and the rather because Artaxerxes had bound himself under an oath to his mother, who earnestly interceded for him to spare Clearchus; that notwithstanding this, at the instigation of Statira, he put all of them to death but Menon; and that from that time Parysatis formed a design against the life of Statira, and endeavoured to poison her. But this account is very improbable, and the cause he assigns is not at all proportioned to the effect; for how can it be believed, that Parysatis would, merely for the sake of Clearchus, venture to commit so horrid a crime, as that of poisoning her son's lawful wife, by whom he had issue which was one day to succeed him in the kingdom? But it is evident that this is merely a fiction of the historian contrived to dignify the memory of Clearchus. For he also says, that when the other generals were executed, they were torn in pieces by dogs and birds; but that a violent gust of wind drove before it a vast heap of sand, which covered and entombed the body of Clearchus; and that palm-trees sprung up round about it, and in a short time formed a beautiful grove, which spread its shade all over the place; so that the king repented of what he had done to Clearchus, whom he considered as a favourite of the gods.

But Parysatis had long entertained a jealousy and hatred against Statira; and perceiving that what credit she had with the king her son was the effect only of the respect he had for her as his mother, but that Statira's interest in him was much stronger, being founded in love and esteem, determined to risk every thing in order to get rid of so formidable a rival. Among her female attendants there was one named *Gigis*, whom she very much esteemed and confided in. Dinon says that she assisted her in preparing the poison. But Ctesias affirms that she was only privy to it, and that it was much against her inclination. The person who provided

provided the poison is called *Melantas* by Ctesias, and by Dinon *Belitaras*.

These two princesses having seemingly forgot their former piques and jealousies, were reconciled in appearance, visited as before, and ate at each other's tables. But as their mutual distrust still subsisted, they continued to keep upon their guard, and to eat of the same dish, and even of the same slices. There is a small bird in Persia the intestines of which are without excrement, and the inside of it wholly fat; so that they suppose the creature lives upon air and dew. It is called *Rhyntaces*. Ctesias affirms, that Parysatis dividing one of these birds with a knife rubbed with poison on the one side, and free from it on the other, eat the untouched and wholesome part herself, and gave Statira that which was infected. But Dinon says that it was not Parysatis, but Melantas, who cut up the bird, and presented the poisoned part to Statira, who, dying with horrid agonies and convulsions, was both herself sensible of the cause of it, and intimated her suspicion of the queen-mother to the king, who well knew her fierce and implacable temper. He therefore immediately made a strict inquiry into the affair. He caused all his mother's officers and domestic servants who attended at her table, to be seized, and put upon the rack. Parysatis kept Gigis safe in her own apartment, and though the king often sent to demand her, she still refused to produce her. At last Gigis requested the queen to let her go home by night to her own house; of which the king being advertised, she was intercepted by some of his guards, who lay in wait for her, and sentence of death was passed upon her. The punishment inflicted by the laws of Persia on poisoners is this: They have a very broad stone prepared for that purpose, upon which they place the head of the criminal, and continue to bruise and squeeze it with another stone till it is crushed to pieces, and nothing

thing of the figure remains. This punishment was inflicted on Gigis. As for Parysatis, the king neither said nor did any thing severe against her, further than to confine her at her own request to the city of Babylon, which he declared he would never visit whilst she resided in it. This was the situation of Artaxerxes's domestic affairs.

The king was as solicitous to get into his power those Grecians who accompanied Cyrus in his expedition, as he had been to conquer Cyrus himself, and secure his kingdom. But in this he failed. For they, after they had lost Cyrus their general and the rest of the commanders, forced their way as it were through the gates of his palace, and retired in safety, making it appear to all the world, that Artaxerxes had the superiority in nothing but wealth, luxury, and women, and that all the rest was vain-glory and ostentation. All the Greeks now took courage, and began to despise the Barbarians; and the Lacedæmonians thought it a shame not to deliver the Asiatic Grecians from servitude, and from the insolence and oppression of the Persians. Their first attempt was with an army under the command of Thimbron; the next commander they tried was Dercyllidas; but when they found all their efforts ineffectual, they at last committed the whole conduct of the war to Agesilaus. That prince having passed into Asia with a powerful fleet, immediately performed many signal exploits, and acquired great reputation; for he defeated Tisaphernes the king's lieutenant in a pitched battle, and caused several of the cities to revolt from the Persians.

These great achievements taught Artaxerxes in what manner he was to carry on the war against the Grecians. He therefore sent Hermocrates of Rhodes into Greece with a vast quantity of gold, commanding him by a free distribution of it to corrupt the leading men in the several cities, and to stir up the rest of the Grecians to unite against

Sparta. Hermocrates succeeded in his commission; for most of the leading cities conspired against Lacedæmon, and all Peloponnesus was in confusion, so that the council of Sparta were forced to recall Agesilaus out of Asia. Upon this we are told that as he was embarking, he said to some of his friends who were near him, *that Artaxerxes had driven him out of Asia with thirty thousand archers*, the Persian coin having the figure of an archer stamped upon it. Artaxerxes likewise gained the dominion of the sea from the Lacedæmonians by the assistance of Conon, admiral of the Athenians, who acted in conjunction with his own admiral Pharnabazus. For Conon, after he had been beaten by the Spartans at Ægos Potamos, kept close in Cyprus, not only for his own safety, but that he might watch the turn of affairs, as mariners do the turn of the tide. Perceiving therefore that the schemes he had formed wanted a great power to execute them, and that the power of the Persians wanted some person of ability to direct it, he wrote to the king, and sent him a plan of his designs, commanding the person with whom he intrusted his letters, to get them presented to the king either by Zeno the Cretan, or by Polycritus the Mendeian, (the first of whom was a dancer, and the other a physician), and in case they were both absent from court, to apply to Ctesias. It is said that Ctesias delivered these letters, and that before he presented them, he added a clause wherein he made Conon desire the king to send Ctesias to him as a person who would be very useful on account of his great skill in maritime affairs. But Ctesias says that the king of his own motion employed him in that service.

After Artaxerxes had defeated the Lacedæmonians by Conon and Pharnabazus, in the naval engagement near Cnidos, and stripped them of their dominion by sea, he drew all Greece over to his interest, and imposed what terms he pleased upon them

them in that celebrated peace, which was called *the peace of Antalcidas*. This Antalcidas was a Spartan, the son of Leon, and so zealous for the king's interest that he prevailed with the Lacedæmonians to give up all the cities in Asia, and the adjacent islands, which were to remain tributary to the Persians in virtue of the peace, if we may give the venerable name of *peace* to that which was the reproach and ruin of Greece, and which was as inglorious as the most fatal conclusion of an unsuccessful war could be. And therefore Artaxerxes, though he always hated the other Spartans, and looked upon them, as Dinon says, to be the most impudent of men, yet expressed a very great regard for Antalcidas, when he came to him into Persia: so that one day he took a garland of flowers, dipped it in a very rich ointment, and sent it from his table to Antalcidas, whilst the whole court were astonished at so particular a mark of favour and distinction. Indeed Antalcidas was a person fit to be treated with such levity, and to receive such a crown, who could, in the presence of the Persians, mimic in a wanton dance Leonidas and Callicratidas. Wherefore when a certain person, in the hearing of Agesilaus, cried out, *Unhappy Greece; even the Spartans are turning Medes*, he replied, *Say rather the Medes are turning Spartans*. But the wit of this repartee could not wipe off the infamy of the action. Soon after this they entirely lost their pre-eminence in Greece by the defeat at Leuctra, as they had before lost their honour by this scandalous peace.

Whilst Sparta held the first rank in Greece, Artaxerxes caressed Antalcidas, and professed the warmest friendship for him. But when this battle at Leuctra had humbled them, they found themselves distressed for want of money, which made them send Agesilaus into Egypt, and order Antalcidas to return to the court of Persia to ask supplies

from Artaxerxes. But the king received him so coldly, and treated him with so much indifference and contempt, that he returned back in great confusion to Sparta; where being scorned by his enemies, and in fear of the Ephori, he starved himself to death. About the same time Ismenias the Theban, and Pelopidas, who overthrew the Spartans at Leuctra, arrived at the court of Artaxerxes. Pelopidas did nothing mean or dishonourable; but Ismenias being commanded to adore the king, letting his ring fall upon the ground before him, stooped to take it up, and made that pass for an act of adoration. Timagoras the Athenian one day sent the king a letter of secret intelligence, which was delivered to him by Beluris a secretary; and the king was so well pleased with the contents of it, that he sent him ten thousand Darici. The same Timagoras falling into a languishing distemper, and being prescribed the use of cow's milk, Artaxerxes immediately made him a present of four-score milch cows, which were constantly to attend him for that service. He also sent him a bed with every thing belonging to it, and with servants to make it, because the Greeks were not skilled in that art, and a number of men to carry him in a litter to the sea-side on account of his indisposition; to all which we may add the sumptuous allowance for his table while he resided at court; which made Oftanes the king's brother say to him one day, *Timagoras, you ought never to forget how magnificently you are entertained; such costly treatment is not for nothing;* which he spoke rather to reproach him for his treason, than to inspire him with gratitude. Accordingly Timagoras was some time after his return condemned to die by the Athenians, for having taken bribes from the king of Persia.

Artaxerxes did one thing which was extremely agreeable to the Grecians, and seemed a sort of atonement for the many injuries he had done them.

He

He caused Tisaphernes, the most implacable of all their enemies, to be put to death; wherein Paryfatis was likewise instrumental, by adding many articles to the charge brought against him. For the king did not long retain his resentment against his mother, but was reconciled to her, and sent for her, being assured that she had wisdom and courage fit for the government of an empire, and that there was now no cause why they might not converse together without suspicion or offence. From that time she gratified the king in every thing, and never opposed or censured any of his actions; by which means she got an absolute ascendant over him. She perceived he was desperately in love with Atossa, one of his own daughters, and that he concealed and checked his passion chiefly out of regard to her; though some authors say he had before that made his addresses in secret to Atossa, and enjoyed her. As soon as Paryfatis suspected the intrigue, she appeared more fond of her granddaughter than before, and extolled her to Artaxerxes both for her virtue and beauty, which, she said, made her worthy of the imperial dignity. In short, she persuaded him to espouse her, and declare her his lawful wife, in spite of the laws and opinions of the Greeks. *For you, said she, are a law to the Persians, appointed by God to be the only rule to them of what is virtuous or vitious.* Some historians, among whom is Heraclides of Cumæ, further affirm, that Artaxerxes did not only marry Atossa, but likewise another of his daughters named *Amestris*, of whom mention will be made hereafter. His love for Atossa was so ardent and sincere, that though a leprosy had spread itself over her whole body, it gave him not the least distaste or coolness towards her; but falling prostrate on his face, and grasping the earth, he continually prayed for her recovery to Juno alone. At the same time he caused so many offerings to be made her by his officers

and friends, that all the road leading from the palace to the temple for two miles together was crouded with horses carrying presents of gold, silver, and purple.

The war which he entered into against the Egyptians was unsuccessful through a misunderstanding which happened between Pharnabazus and Iphicrates, to whom he committed the conduct of it. But he went in person against the Cadusians with an army of three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Their country is rough and uneven, is continually covered with fogs, and produces no corn for the sustenance of the inhabitants, a robust warlike people, who are forced to live upon wild pears and apples, and other fruit of that kind. Artaxerxes, unwarily entering this country, exposed himself to infinite distress and danger; for no provisions could be got there, nor was it possible to be supplied from any other place. The whole army was forced to live on beasts of burden, which soon became so scarce, that the head of an ass was sold for sixty drachmas. The king's own table began to be in want; and few horses were left, the rest having been used for food.

In this exigency Tiribazus, a person who was often in the highest favour with his prince on account of his valour, and as often degraded on account of his levity, and who at this very time was in great disgrace, preserved the king, and all his forces, by the following stratagem. There were two kings of the Cadusians, and they were separately encamped. Tiribazus having first communicated his design to Artaxerxes, went to one of those princes himself, and sent his son to the other. Each of them deceived the prince he had to deal with, telling him that the other was sending, unknown to him, his ambassadors to Artaxerxes to negotiate a separate alliance; *And if you are wise, said he, you will lose no time, but be beforehand with your rival, and*
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enter first into a treaty; and you may depend upon all the assistance that is in my power. These words imposed upon the two princes; so that each of them believing his companion was betraying him, they both dispatched their ambassadors to Artaxerxes, Tiribazus attending those who were sent by the one, and his son accompanying those of the other. But as Tiribazus staid a considerable time, Artaxerxes began to suspect him, and his enemies did all they could to irritate the king against him, so that he repented his having confided so much in him, and gave ear to those who were the most forward to calumniate him. However, Tiribazus returning on one side, and his son on the other, each bringing his ambassadors with him, and the peace being concluded on both sides, he obtained greater credit and authority than ever, and marched back with Artaxerxes, who made it appear on that occasion, that cowardice and effeminacy do not necessarily arise from luxury, pomp, and superfluity, as is generally believed, but are the effects of an ignoble nature, and depraved judgment. For neither his ornaments of gold, his robe of state, nor the sumptuous apparel which he always wore, and which was esteemed worth twelve thousand talents, hindered this monarch from undergoing the same fatigues and exposing himself to the same hardships as the meanest soldier of his army. For with his quiver slung over his shoulder, and his arm braced to his buckler, he would dismount upon occasion, and lead them in person through craggy difficult passes. And the soldiers charmed with the patience, strength, and courage which they saw him exert, were so animated and enlivened by his example, that they marched every day upwards of two hundred furlongs. At last he arrived at one of his own palaces, where he had gardens of wonderful beauty and magnificence, and of a very large extent, though all the country around was naked
and

and barren. The weather being exceeding cold, he permitted his soldiers to cut down as much wood as they wanted, without excepting even the pines and cypresses; and when they seemed loath to cut down trees of that size and beauty, the king himself took an axe, and began to fell one, which was the tallest and most beautiful of them all. This made the soldiers less scrupulous; and having cut down what wood they wanted, they kindled so many fires as made them pass the night very comfortably.

Thus ended this expedition, wherein the king lost many brave soldiers, and almost all his horses. And as he imagined that he was despised for his ill success, he grew jealous of the most eminent men in his court, some of whom he slew in his rage, and more out of fear, which in tyrants is a passion the most cruel and bloody of any; whereas true courage is gentle, merciful, and void of all suspicion. Therefore those brutes which by nature are most timorous, are hardest to be tamed; but the more generous animals, having less suspicion because they have less fear, do not shun the kindness and society of man.

Artaxerxes being now in years perceived that his sons were contending which should succeed him, and were making interest with their friends and the chief men of the court; the most prudent and reasonable among whom thought that as Artaxerxes had succeeded in right of birth, the succession ought to devolve upon his eldest son Darius. But the younger, named *Ochus*, a man of a hot violent temper, had likewise his party, which was very numerous and considerable. He hoped to prevail upon his father to declare for him by the means of Atossa, to whom he made all his court, promising to marry her, and make her his partner in the throne after the death of Artaxerxes. Indeed there went a report that he had already been
familiar

familiar with her; but this was unknown to his father, who thinking it prudent to cut off his hopes at once, lest following the example of his uncle Cyrus he might involve the state in a civil war after his decease, declared Darius his successor, who was then in his twenty-fifth year, and permitted him to wear the point of his citaris or turban erect, which was the mark of royalty.

It is a custom among the Persians for him who is declared next heir to the crown, to demand of the prince who has named him for his successor, some gift which he is not to refuse, provided it be in his power to grant it. Darius therefore demanded Aspasia, who had been exceedingly beloved by Cyrus, and at this time was one of the king's concubines. She was born at Phocæa a city in Ionia, was of good parentage, and had been virtuously educated. When she was first introduced to Cyrus, it was amongst other women whilst he was at supper. The rest placed themselves without reserve near his person; and when he began to jest and talk wantonly to them, and to touch them, they seemed not at all displeased with his fondness. Aspasia in the mean time stood by in silence; Cyrus invited her to come nearer, but she refused; and when some of his attendants went to compel her, she said, *Whoever lays his hands upon me shall repent it.* This made all who were present look on her as a fullen awkward creature. But Cyrus was pleased with her behaviour, and laughing said to the person who had provided him with those women, *Do not you perceive that of all you have brought me, this woman only is free and virtuous.* From that time he attached himself to her, loved her above all the rest, and called her *Aspasia the wise*. When Cyrus fell in the battle, she was taken among the other spoils of the camp, and delivered to Artaxerxes. Darius having therefore demanded her of his father, he was much afflicted at it; for those Barbarians are excessively

cessively jealous in their amours; so that it is death for a man not only to speak to one of the king's concubines, or touch her, but even to cross the road, or come near the chariots in which they are travelling. And though to gratify his lust he had against all law married his daughter Atossa, and had beside her three hundred and sixty concubines of extraordinary beauty, yet being importuned for that one by Darius, he replied, *that she was a free woman, and that he might take her if she was willing to go with him, but by no means force her away against her inclination.* Aspasia therefore being sent for, and, contrary to the king's expectation, making choice of Darius, he gave her to him indeed, being constrained to it by law, but deprived him of her soon after; for he made her a priestess in the temple of Diana, surnamed *Anitis*, at Ecbatana, that she might spend the remainder of her days in strict chastity; thus punishing his son, not with rigour and severity, but with mildness and good humour. But Darius highly resented this proceeding, either because the violence of his love to Aspasia made him more sensible of it, or because he thought it designed on purpose to insult and affront him.

Tiribazus perceiving him in this temper of mind, took pains to exasperate him still more, observing in the injury done Darius a representation of that which he had received himself. For Artaxerxes having several daughters, promised one of them named *Apama* to Pharnabazus, *Rhodogune* to Orontes, and *Amestris* to Tiribazus. He kept his word with the two first, but disappointed Tiribazus by marrying Amestris himself. He promised however to give him his youngest daughter Atossa; but here he deceived him too; for he afterwards fell passionately in love with Atossa, and married her likewise, as we have already observed. This usage extremely incensed Tiribazus, a man who was never steady and sedate in his disposition, but was

was in all things wild and irregular. Wherefore being sometimes advanced to the highest degree of honour, and at others slighted and disgraced, he knew not how to behave with propriety in either of those states; for when he was in favour, his insolence and vanity made him insupportable, and when in disgrace, instead of being humble, quiet, and submissive, he was fierce and outrageous. Tiribazus therefore in his conversation with the young prince added fresh fuel to the fire, continually urging him on, and saying, *That it was a poor prerogative to wear the point of the citaris erect, if he who wore it did not take care to advance his interest; that he would find himself much mistaken if he thought himself secure of the succession whilst his brother was strengthening his party by the interest he had among the women, and his father was of so rash and fickle a temper; since it was not to be expected, that he, who for the sake of a Grecian strumpet could violate a law the most sacred among the Persians, should faithfully perform more important promises: that the case was quite different betwixt his pretensions and those of Ochus; for as for Ochus, no one would hinder him from living happy in a private station; but as for Darius, who had been declared king, death or the throne was the only alternative.* It plainly appeared on this occasion that Sophocles judged rightly when he said,

With winged speed ill counsel takes its way.

For the path which leads us to what we desire, is smooth, and of an easy descent; and most men desire what is wrong, because they are strangers to wisdom and virtue. Besides, the large extent of the Persian dominions, and the jealousy Darius had entertained of Ochus, furnished Tiribazus with other arguments to exasperate the prince's mind; though love for Aspasia, and concern for her loss, were no inconsiderable causes of his resentment. Thus Darius delivered himself up to

Tiribazus,

Tiribazus, and associating a considerable number of persons, entered into a conspiracy against his father. But an eunuch detected their plot to the king, and told him the manner in which it was to be executed; for he had received certain intelligence, that they intended to break into the king's apartment by night, and assassinate him as he lay in his bed. Artaxerxes thought it would be great imprudence to despise such a danger, and still greater to give credit to this information without further proof. He therefore commanded the eunuch who had made the discovery to join with the conspirators, and engage in all their measures; at the same time he broke down the wall of his chamber, which was behind his bed, where he made a door, and covered it with tapestry.

When the appointed hour was approaching, of which he had been informed by the eunuch, he laid himself on his bed, and did not stir till he had a full sight of the faces of the assassins, so as to distinguish and know them. But as soon as he saw them drawing their swords, and coming towards the bed, he drew back the tapestry, and retreated into an inner chamber, where he bolted the door, and alarmed the court. The assassins seeing themselves discovered, and their design defeated, immediately fled, and exhorted Tiribazus to do the same, telling him that he was discovered. They all separated, and each of them provided for himself, but Tiribazus was surprised by the guards. He defended himself for some time with great courage, and slew many of them, till at last being wounded by a javelin which was thrown at a distance, he fell. Darius was likewise taken together with his children, and brought before the judges appointed by the king. Artaxerxes did not chuse to assist at the trial in person, but appointed others to form the charge against him; at the same time he commanded his notaries to write down the opinion of every one of
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the judges singly, and bring them all to him. They having all agreed in condemning him to death, the officers removed him to an adjacent prison, and sent for the executioner to do his office. As soon as he entered with the razor used in beheading capital offenders, and saw Darius, he started back in great consternation, and looked toward the door, as having neither strength nor courage enough to lay violent hands upon his sovereign. But the judges, who were attending without, threatened him, and commanded him to proceed. Upon this he returned; and seizing the prince by the hair, he threw him on the ground, and cut off his head. Some write that Darius was tried in the king's presence, and that as soon as he was convicted by undeniable evidence, he fell prostrate on the ground, and most earnestly implored the king's pardon; that the king in great fury drew his scymitar, with which he wounded him in many places, and killed him upon the spot; and that afterwards he returned to his palace, where he worshipped the sun, and said to those who had attended him, *Return in triumph, O Persians, and tell your fellow-subjects that the great Oromazes has punished those who had contrived the most impious and execrable of crimes.* This was the event of that conspiracy.

Now Ochus's expectations were raised, and he promised himself much from the interest he had in Atossa. However, he was jealous of his brother Ariaspes, who was the only male surviving besides himself of the legitimate offspring of Artaxerxes; and of his bastard brethren he stood much in fear of Arfames. For the Persians wished that Ariaspes might succeed to the throne, not so much because he was older than Ochus, but because he was of a mild, sincere, and benevolent disposition. As for Arfames, he was esteemed superiour in understanding, and Ochus was not insensible, that he was the favourite of his father. He therefore contrived the

destruction of both, and being no less artful than bloody, he employed his cruelty against Arsames, and his craft against Ariaspes. For he suborned some of the king's eunuchs and favourites to convey to him severe and menacing expressions from his father, as though he had decreed to put him to a cruel and ignominious death. These things they daily communicated to him as secrets, telling him that part of the king's designs against him would be delayed for some time, and that part would be executed immediately; and by this means they so terrified him, and threw him into such anxiety and dejection of mind, that having prepared a poisonous draught, he drank it, and put an end to his life. The king hearing what kind of death he died, sincerely lamented him, and guessed the cause of it, but was disabled by his age from searching thoroughly into the affair. He now became still more fond of Arsames, manifestly placed his greatest confidence in him, and made him privy to all his designs. Whereupon Ochus had no longer patience to defer the execution of his purpose, but employed Tiribazus's son Hartaspes to kill Arsames. Artaxerxes, whose extreme age had brought him to the very verge of life, when he heard of the fate of Arsames, could not bear up under the affliction, but being oppressed with the load of his grief, expired, after he had lived ninety-four years, and reigned sixty-two *. He was esteemed a mild and gracious prince, and what contributed very much to his obtaining that character, was the disposition of his son Ochus, who was of all princes the most cruel and sanguinary.

* Diodorus Siculus says that he reigned only forty-three years.

T H E L I F E O F A R A T U S.

THE philosopher Chrysippus, Polycrates, quotes an ancient proverb, not as it really is, but as he thought it should be, imagining (I suppose) that it founded too harshly ;

Who fathers praise, except their generous sons ?

But Dionysodorus the Trezœnian correcting him, restores the true form of it, which is this,

Who fathers praise, except degenerate sons ?

telling us, that this proverb was designed to stop the mouths of those, who having no merit of their own, deck themselves with the virtues of their ancestors, and are lavish in their praises. But those

To whom the virtues of their sires descend,

to make use of Pindar's own words, who, like you, copy after the bright originals left them by their ancestors, may take great satisfaction in often hearing and speaking of the best of their progenitors ; for they assume not the glory of other mens virtue for want of worth of their own, but uniting both in one, celebrate those heroes as the authors of their descent and the models of their lives. For this

reason I have sent to you the life of your fellow-citizen and progenitor Aratus; the reputation and power which you have acquired being such as are far from reflecting any dishonour upon him. I do not send it imagining that you have not yourself been careful to be informed of all his actions better than any one, but with this view, that your sons Polycrates and Pythocles may be trained up by domestic examples, and by hearing and reading such things as are fit for their imitation. For it belongs only to the self-conceited, not to the lovers of virtue, to think themselves better than all others.

The city of Sicyon, from the time that it first fell off from a pure Doric aristocracy *, (its harmony being quite confounded by the seditions and contests of the demagogues), continued to be dis-tempered and unsettled, changing one tyrant for another, till, Cleon being slain, Timoclidas and Clinias, men of the greatest reputation and power amongst the citizens, were chosen governours. Under their administration the constitution seemed in some measure settled: but upon the death of Timoclidas, Abantidas the son of Paseas resolving to seize the government himself, killed Clinias, together with several of his friends and relations, and banished the rest. The tyrant would likewise have murdered Aratus the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, if he could have found him. But, during the confusion in which the family was upon the death of his father, the child escaped unobserved among the rest that fled, and wandering about the city helpless and fearful, by chance got undiscovered into the house of a woman named *Soso*. She was the sister of Abantidas, but had been married to Prophantus, the brother of Clinias.

* This is a figure borrowed from the different modes of the Grecian music, among which the Doric was esteemed the most perfect; so that Plato says somewhere that the Doric mode only deserved the name of *Grecian harmony*.

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She being of a generous temper, and believing the boy had by some special providence fled to her for shelter, hid him in the house, and at night conveyed him away secretly to Argos.

Aratus having thus escaped so imminent a danger, immediately conceived a fierce and implacable hatred against tyrants, which ever after continually increased. He was liberally educated by his father's friends and acquaintance in Argos. And being of a robust constitution and large stature, he applied himself to the gymnastic exercises, wherein he excelled to that degree, that he contended in the Pentathlum *, and came off conqueror : and indeed in his statues one may observe a certain athletic cast, and, together with the gravity and majesty which appears in his countenance, something may be perceived not incompatible with the voracious appetite and the mattock of the wrestler †. Hence it was that he studied eloquence less than perhaps became a man bred up to the administration of civil affairs ; and yet that he was a more elegant speaker than is generally believed, some conclude from those commentaries which he has left, though penned carelessly and hastily, and in such words as first came to his mind. Some time after this, Dinias and Aristotle the logician killed Abantidas, who used to attend in the public hall at their disputes, and to join in them, they having insensibly accustomed him to this practice, by which they at last got an oppor-

* The Pentathlum consisted of five different exercises, running, leaping, throwing the dart, boxing, and wrestling.

† For the wrestlers were great feeders, and the mattock was one of the instruments they made use of in their exercises ; with this they broke up the ground, on purpose to confirm and increase their strength by such intense labour. Theocritus has expressed in one verse of his fourth Idyllium both the mattock, and the voracity of these athletics.

Κάχῃ ἔχων σκαπάναν τε καὶ ἑκατὲ τεττόθι μᾶλα

“ He is gone with his mattock, and twenty sheep.”

tunity of executing the design they had formed against him. After him Pafeas the father of Abantidas taking upon him the government was slain by the treachery of Nicocles, who made himself tyrant. It is reported, that he was extremely like Perriander the son of Cypselus, as it is said Orontes the Persian much resembled Alcmaeon the son of Amphiaraus, and a Lacedæmonian youth, the famous Hector; and Myrsilus tells us that the youth was trod to death by the croud of those who came to see him upon that report.

When Nicocles had governed about four months, during which time he exceedingly oppressed the city, he was upon the point of being dispossessed by a stratagem of the Ætolians. Aratus was by this time growing towards manhood, and was already highly esteemed both on account of his birth, and disposition, wherein nothing mean or inactive appeared, but a gravity and sedateness uncommon in one of his age, accompanied with a great deal of spirit, and a steady judgment. These qualities made the exiles of Sicyon fix their eyes upon him; and Nicocles had his spies about him, who watched him narrowly, and observed all his motions. Not that he was apprehensive of any action so bold and hazardous as that he undertook; he only suspected him of carrying on a correspondence with the kings who had been his father's friends. And indeed Aratus first attempted this way: but finding that Antigonus, who had promised to assist him, neglected and delayed it, and that his hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy were too remote, he determined to destroy the tyrant by himself, without any foreign assistance.

He first communicated his design to Aristomachus and Ecdelus. Aristomachus was an exile of Sicyon, and Ecdelus an Arcadian of Megalopolis, a person strongly addicted to philosophy, but at the same time of an active and resolute disposition; he had studied

studied at Athens under the direction of Arcefilaus the academic. These readily consenting, he spoke on the subject to the other exiles. Some few of them being ashamed to seem to despair of success, engaged in the design; but most of them endeavoured to divert him from it, telling him, that his want of experience made him rash and precipitate.

Whilst he was deliberating on the properest means for securing some strong post in the territory of Sicyon, from whence he might make war upon the tyrant, a certain Sicyonian, just escaped out of prison, arrived at Argos. This man was the brother of Xenocles, one of the exiles, who carried him immediately to Aratus, whom he told that that part of the wall over which he had made his escape was almost level with the ground on the inside, as it adjoined to a high rocky part of the city, and that on the outside the wall was not so high but it might easily be scaled. Upon this report Aratus dispatched Xenocles, with two of his servants Seuthas and Technon, to view the wall, resolving if he could do it secretly and with one risk, to hazard all at a push, rather than as a private person oppose the tyrant by a long war and open force.

Xenocles and his two companions having taken the height of the wall, returned, and reported that the place was in itself neither inaccessible, nor even difficult, but that it would not be easy to approach it without being discovered, by reason of a parcel of dogs belonging to a gardener hard by, which were small indeed, but very fierce and not to be silenced. Aratus immediately resolved upon the enterprise. It was an easy matter for them to provide themselves with arms, without giving the least jealousy, because of the frequent incursions made for plunder by one state upon another. The ladders were prepared by Euphranor one of the exiles, who being a carpenter by trade, made them openly without

without giving any suspicion. He raised his men among his friends at Argos, who having but few to spare supplied him with ten apiece; to these he added thirty of his own domestics. He also hired a small party of Xenophilus, captain of a band of plunderers, to whom it was given out that they were to march into the territories of Sicyon to seize the king's stud; and many of them were sent before by different ways to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait there for his arrival. Caphefias likewise was sent before with four of his companions, who were to arrive at the gardener's house when it was dark, and pretending to be travellers, get a lodging there, and then confine both him and his dogs; for there was no other way to that part of the wall. As for the ladders, they being made to take in pieces, were packed up in corn-chests, and sent before in waggons prepared for that purpose.

In the mean time some of the tyrant's spies arrived at Argos; and it being reported that they were sent to watch Aratus, he appeared early the next morning in the market-place, where he conversed with his friends; then he went to the Gymnasium, where he performed his exercises, and anointed himself; and taking with him from thence several young gentlemen who used frequently to drink with him and join in his parties of pleasure, he returned home. Soon after this his servants were seen in the market-place, some carrying garlands, some buying flambeaux, and others discoursing with the women who used to sing and play at entertainments. The spies observing all these things were deceived, and said laughing one to another, *Nothing can be more timorous than a tyrant; since even Nicocles, who is master of so large a city, and is a man of such power and authority, stands in fear of a youth who wastes the small pittance he has to subsist on in his exile in drinking and*

and revelling even by day-light, Being thus deluded they returned home.

But Aratus as soon as dinner was over set out from Argos, and hastened to the soldiers who waited for him at the tower of Polygnotus. As soon as he had joined them, he led them to Nemea, where he discovered to them his true design. He first animated them with many exhortations and promises; and when he had given the word, which was *propitious Apollo*, he led them straight to Sicyon, proportioning his march to the motion of the moon, sometimes quickening and then slackening his pace, so as to have the benefit of her light upon the way, and to arrive at the gardener's house, which was close to the wall, just as she was set. Here Caphefias came up to him, and told him he could not secure the dogs because they had been let out before his arrival, but that he had made sure of the gardener. This disheartened most of them, so that they pressed him to give over his enterprize, and return; but he continued to encourage them, and at the same time promised that if the dogs grew very troublesome, he would retire. He caused those who carried the ladders to march before, under the conduct of Ecdelus and Mnafitheus, whilst he followed leisurely with the rest. The dogs began to bark very loud, and flew at Ecdelus and his companions; notwithstanding which they got safe to the wall, and planted their ladders. But as the foremost of them were mounting, the captain of the watch that was to be relieved by the morning-guard, passed by that way at the sound of a bell, with many torches, and a great deal of noise; whereupon they laid themselves close to the ladders, and so were unobserved; but when the other watch came to relieve the former, they were in the utmost danger. But having escaped that also, immediately Mnafitheus and Ecdelus got upon the wall, and possessing themselves of the passages on each side, they sent away
Technon

Technon to Aratus, desiring him to make all the haste he could. The garden was not very distant from the wall, and from a certain tower in which a great greyhound was placed to keep watch : yet he did not hear them as they marched forward, either because he was naturally drowsy, or because he had been overwearied the day before ; but the gardener's dogs barking below awakened him. He at first only growled, which was little observed ; but when he heard the exiles marching near the tower, he then barked so loud that the whole place resounded with the noise, and the centinel at a distance called out to the dogkeeper, and asked him, *What it was made his dog bark at that rate, and if any thing extraordinary had happened to occasion it ?* The dogkeeper replied, *There was nothing worth notice ; that only the light of the torches belonging to the guard, and the noise of the bell, had set him a-barking.* This reply much encouraged Aratus's soldiers, who thought the dogkeeper was privy to their design, and therefore concealed what was passing ; and that many others of the city were of the conspiracy. But when they came to scale the wall, the attempt then appeared both to require time, and to be full of danger ; for the ladders shook and bent extremely if they mounted them not leisurely, and one by one ; and the time pressed, for the cocks began to crow, and the country-people that used to keep the market were upon the road to town. Wherefore Aratus hastened to get up himself, forty only of the company being already upon the wall ; and staying but for a few more of those who were below, he marched directly to the tyrant's palace, and the main-guard where his mercenary soldiers kept watch ; and coming suddenly upon them, and taking them prisoners without killing any one of them, he immediately sent to all his friends, desiring them to quit their houses, and join him, which they did from all quarters. By this time the day began

began to appear, and the multitude flocked together into the theatre, where they were held in suspense by uncertain reports, and knew nothing distinctly of what had happened, till a public crier advancing forward proclaimed aloud, *That Aratus the son of Clinias invited the citizens to recover their liberty.* Then believing that what they had so long wished for was now come to pass, they pressed in throngs to the tyrant's palace to set it on fire; and so great was the flame that it was seen as far as Corinth; so that the Corinthians wondering what the occasion should be, were upon the point of coming to their assistance. Nicocles made his escape through certain subterraneous passages, and fled out of the city; and the foldiers, helping the Sicyonians to quench the fire, plundered the palace. This Aratus permitted; and he divided also the rest of the tyrant's wealth amongst the citizens. Not one of those engaged in this enterprise was slain, nor any of the contrary party; fortune so conducting it as to keep it entirely clear from civil bloodshed.

Aratus restored all the exiles, not only those who had been banished by Nicocles, who were fourscore in number; but likewise those who had been expelled by the former tyrants, who were not fewer than five hundred, and some of whom had led a wandering life for the space of fifty years. These returning home in a miserable indigent condition, seized upon their former possessions, and their several farms and houses, which was the occasion of great perplexity to Aratus. For he saw that from without Antigonus cast an envious eye upon the city, and watched an opportunity to get it into his possession ever since it had been restored to its liberty; and at home it was full of disorder and sedition. Therefore in the present situation he thought it best to associate the people to the Achæan community; and being Dorians, they willingly took the name and the form of government of the Achæans, who

who at that time had no great power or authority; for most of them lived in small towns, and their territory was neither large nor fruitful, and the neighbouring sea was without ports, entering the land for the most part in rocky creeks. And yet even they made it evidently appear that the Grecian force was invincible, when united by order and concord at home, and conducted by a general of wisdom and experience. For these very Achæans, whose power was so inconsiderable when compared with that of the ancient Grecians, whose whole strength was hardly equal to that of an ordinary city, by prudence and unanimity, and by obeying and following him amongst them who was most eminent for virtue, instead of envying him for his superiority, not only preserved their own liberty in the midst of so many great and powerful cities and governments, and in spite of so many tyrants, but delivered the greatest part of Greece from slavery.

As for the character of Aratus *, he was public-spirited, magnanimous, more solicitous about

* This character of Aratus in Plutarch agrees exactly with that we find of him in the fourth book of Polybius. "Aratus was a person exceedingly well qualified to be at the head of affairs; for he thought wisely, and spoke properly, and no man knew better how to conceal what he had once resolved upon. He bore with great temper the heats and animosities that arise from political contentions, and had a peculiar talent in gaining friends, and forming alliances. He showed great art and skill in the enterprises he undertook, and the stratagems he contrived against the enemy; and he executed them with success by his patience and courage. This appears from many of his actions, &c. And yet this very Aratus, whenever any thing was to be performed openly, was slow in coming to a resolution, and diffident in executing it. He was intimidated in the presence of the enemy, and terrified at the appearance of danger. Hence it was that all Peloponnesus abounded with trophies of his defeats, and that in the field he was easily vanquished. Thus nature has infused different and contrary qualities, not only into the bodies of men, but more especially into their minds. So that the same man ceases to be the same, not only in different operations, but even in those of the same kind. Sometimes he is quick and inventive, at others dull and stupid; to-day bold and enterprising, to-morrow timorous and cowardly."

the welfare of the state than his own private concerns, a bitter enemy to tyrants, and made the common good the measure of his friendships and enmities; so that he seemed to have been not so much a zealous and affectionate friend, as a placable and gentle enemy, his regard for particular men always varying according to the circumstances of the commonwealth. Of all those things which are esteemed most excellent, none gave him so great delight as concord between nations, associations of cities, and unanimity in public assemblies. With regard to open wars, and pitched battles, he was indeed diffident and fearful; but in contriving and executing any secret scheme, in surprising towns, and dethroning tyrants, he showed consummate ability. Hence it was that after he had succeeded in many difficult enterprises, against all probability, and had exerted the utmost courage in the execution of them, he, through caution and timidity, left many others unattempted, which were within his power, and were no less considerable. For as among animals there are some who see very clearly by night, and are blind in the day-time, the darkness and subtilty of the humours of the eye not suffering them to bear the light; so amongst men we meet with some who shrink and grow fearful in dangers, which are to be encountered openly and in public view, and who, on the contrary, show a wonderful resolution in secret enterprises. This inequality is occasioned in noble minds by the want of philosophy; for that virtue which is not produced by reason and judgment, resembles those fruits that grow wild and uncultivated; as may be proved by many examples.

Aratus therefore having associated himself and his city with the Achæans, served in the cavalry, and was much beloved by the superiour officers for his exact obedience; for though he had made so large an addition to the community, as that of his

own credit, and the power of his country, yet he was as ready to be commanded by any of the Achaean generals, whether of Dyma or Trita, or any town still more inconsiderable, as any common soldier. When the king of Egypt sent him a present of twenty-five talents, he received it, but distributed the whole among his needy fellow-citizens, part of it being applied to relieve their necessities, and the remainder to redeem the prisoners.

But the exiles being by no means to be satisfied, and disturbing continually those who were in possession of their estates, the city was in great danger of being ruined by civil dissensions. Having therefore no hope left him, but from the kindness of Ptolemy, he resolved to go to him, and to beg so much money of him as would satisfy all parties. Accordingly he set sail from Methone above the promontory of Malea, designing to pass from thence directly to Egypt. But the pilot not being able to keep the vessel up against the strong wind and high seas, he was turned from his course, and with much ado got to Adria, an enemy's town; for it was possessed by Antigonus, who had a garrison in it. To avoid falling into their hands, he immediately landed, and leaving the ship went up into the country a good way from the sea, having along with him only one friend called *Timanthes*; and hiding themselves in a certain woody place, they passed the night very disagreeably. Soon after he left the ship the governor came, and inquired for Aratus; but he was deceived by Aratus's servants, who had been instructed to say their master was just sailed towards the island of Eubœa; wherefore he declared the ship, the cargo, and servants to be lawful prize, and detained them accordingly. A few days after, while Aratus was in great perplexity, by good fortune a Roman ship happened to put in just by the place of his retreat, where he sometimes looked out to discover the coast,
and

and at others kept himself close concealed. This ship was bound for Syria ; and the master of it agreed with Aratus to land him in Caria. This voyage was no less dangerous and tempestuous than the former.

He was a long time in passing from Caria into Egypt ; where, when he arrived, he was immediately admitted to audience, and found the king very favourably disposed to him on account of the pictures which he used to send him out of Greece. For Aratus, who had a fine taste in works of this kind, made many valuable collections of pieces done by the best masters, especially by Pamphilus and Melanthus *, and sent them to Ptolemy. For the Sicyonian pieces were even then in great esteem, as being the only paintings whose colours were lasting ; so that Apelles himself, though already very famous, went to Sicyon, and gave the painters a talent to be admitted into their school, not so much to learn of them, as to be a sharer with them in their reputation. For this reason, Aratus, as soon as he had restored the city to her liberty, destroyed all the other portraitures of the tyrant ; but when he came to that of Aristratus, who flourished in the days of Philip, he was in a doubt for a considerable time ; for it was the joint performance of all the scholars of Melanthus, who had drawn him standing in a chariot of victory, and Apelles himself had a hand in it, as we are told by Polemo the geographer.

This piece was so excellent, that Aratus could not forbear being touched with it ; but being on a sudden transported by his implacable aversion to tyrants, he commanded it to be destroyed. It is said that Nealces the painter †, a friend of his, happening

* Two of the most celebrated of all the painters. Pamphilus had been brought up under Eupompus, and was the master of Apelles and Melanthus.

† Nealces was a painter of great reputation. He painted the naval fight

happening to be present when that order was given, entreated him with tears in his eyes to spare that picture, and finding him inflexible, *Aratus*, said he, *we will allow to make war upon tyrants, but not upon what belongs to them; therefore spare the chariot, and the victory, and you shall soon see Aristratus vanish out of the piece.* Aratus consenting to it, Nealcès effaced the figure of Aristratus, and painted a palm-tree in its stead, without presuming to add any thing else of his own. However, it is said that the feet of Aristratus still appeared obscurely at the bottom of the chariot.

This taste for painting had already recommended Aratus to Ptolemy; but after he had made himself better known to him by his conversation, the king was exceedingly pleased with him, and presented him with a hundred and fifty talents, for the relief of his city. Of these Aratus took forty with him, when he returned to Peloponnesus; the king divided the remainder into several portions, and assigned them to him by so many different payments. This was a great and noble action of Aratus, to procure in this manner so considerable a sum for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, at a time when nothing was more common than to see commanders, governours, and demagogues, for much smaller sums oppress, enslave, and betray to the kings, their cities and communities. But it was a still greater action, by means of this money to effect a reconciliation between the rich and the poor, to compose all their differences, and establish a perfect harmony among the people.

His moderation in the exercise of his great power

fight of the Egyptians against the Persians; and to show that the action was on the Nile, the water of which is in colour like that of the sea, he represented that by a symbol, which was not within the compass of his art to express; he drew an ass drinking on the shore, and a crocodile near him upon the watch, and ready to fasten upon him. *Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 11.*

and

and authority was truly admirable. For being declared sole arbitrator of the differences of the exiles, he would not accept the commission alone; but associating fifteen of the citizens with him, he with great pains and trouble adjusted their claims, and settled peace and friendship in the city; for which service not only all the citizens in general bestowed due honours upon him, but the exiles, apart by themselves, erected his statue in brass, with the following inscription:

*Greece, freed from foreign and domestic foes,
To thee her honour and her safety owes.
For this, illustrious chief, thy bright renown
Spreads from the rising to the setting sun.
Whilst we, in token of unfeigned praise,
This statue to our great deliverer raise.
Here 'midst our saviour gods triumphant stand,
The ornament and guardian of our land.
What less can Sicyon, or can we afford?
She to herself, and we to her restor'd.*

Aratus by these important services subdued the envy of the citizens. But Antigonus being uneasy at his success, and resolving either to fix him in his interest, or at least render him suspected to Ptolemy, gave him several extraordinary marks of his favour, though he neither desired, nor did any thing to deserve them. Among other things, having one day performed a sacrifice at Corinth, he sent portions of the victim to Aratus; and in the midst of the feast, when the table was full of company, he said aloud that all might hear him, *I at first looked on this youth of Sicyon no otherwise than as one of a generous spirit, and zealous for the liberty of his country; but I now look upon him as a good judge of the manners and actions of princes. For formerly he despised us; and fixed his hopes and dependence in foreign parts, admiring the riches of Egypt, her elephants, and fleets, and the magnificence of her palaces; but now, af-*

ter having taken a nearer view, and finding all this to be nothing but show and pageantry, he is come over to us: and for my part I willingly receive him, and resolving to make great use of him myself, command you to look upon him as a person joined in friendship with you.

The envious and malicious, taking advantage of this discourse, strove who should be the first to charge him with the heaviest calumnies in their letters to Ptolemy, who wrote to him, and expostulated with him. To such envy and ill-will are they exposed who enjoy the favour of kings and tyrants, which is so ardently and intensely pursued by many.

Aratus being for the first time chosen general of the Achæans, went and ravaged the country of Locris, which lies on the other side of the gulf of Corinth, and plundered the territories of Calydon. He marched also with ten thousand men to the succour of the Bœotians, but did not arrive till after the battle near Chæronea*, where they were beaten by the Ætolians, and lost Abœocritus their general, and a thousand of their soldiers. The year following being again elected general†, he made that famous attempt of retaking the fortress of Acrocorinthus; not so much for the advantage of the Sicyonians or Achæans, as considering that, by driving thence the Macedonian garrison, he should take the yoke from off the neck of all Greece. Chares the Athenian having the good fortune to gain a certain battle against the king of Persia's lieutenants, wrote to the people of Athens, and told them, that this victory was sister to that at Marathon; and so may this action of Aratus be

* We are not to confound this action with that famous battle of Chæronea, where the Thebans and Athenians were overthrown by Philip, which happened in the third year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, sixty-six years before the birth of Aratus.

† Polybius, who followed Aratus's memoirs, and begun his history where the other left off, tells us there were eight years between Aratus's first generalship, and his second, in which he surpris'd the citadel of Corinth.

well termed *Sister* to those of Pelopidas the Theban, and Thrasybulus the Athenian, when they slew the tyrants; except perhaps it may be said to exceed them on this account, that it was not undertaken against Grecians, but against a foreign power. The isthmus of Corinth, which runs between the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus, and whenever the citadel of Corinth, which is built on a high hill just in the middle between those two continents, is well garrisoned, it can cut off the communication with Peloponnesus, prevent the passage of troops, and prohibit all manner of commerce both by sea and land; so that it makes him who is possessed of it master of all Greece. Wherefore the younger Philip king of Macedon was not in jest, but spoke with great truth when he called the city of *Corinth the fetters of Greece*. It is no wonder therefore if this post was earnestly contended for by all, especially by kings and princes.

The passion with which Antigonus desired to get it into his possession was so strong, that it equalled the violent transports of a frantic lover. His thoughts were continually employed in contriving how to take it by surprise from those who were masters of it; for he despaired of doing it by open force. Alexander, who was possessed of it, being killed by poison, and, as it is said, by his direction, it fell into the hands of his wife Nicæa, who took upon her the administration of affairs, and was particularly careful of that important fortress. Antigonus immediately sent to her his son Demetrius, alluring her with the hopes of making him marry her; and it was no disagreeable prospect to a woman somewhat advanced in years, to think of being married to a young prince so amiable as Demetrius. By this bait she was taken; for she wanted strength to resist so powerful a temptation. However, she would not deliver up the place, but held it with a
very

very strong garrison ; which he seeming to take no notice of, celebrated the wedding in Corinth, entertaining the people with shows and feasts every day, as one who thought of nothing but mirth and pleasure. One day, when the famous musician Amœbeus was to perform on the theatre, Antigonus waited in person on Nicæa, who was carried thither in a litter magnificently adorned, and who being exceedingly elated with the great honour done to her, little thought of what was to happen. As soon as they were come to a turning which led up to the citadel, he ordered the men who bore the litter to go on before to the theatre ; then bidding farewell to Amœbeus and the wedding, he hastened up to the castle with more speed than could be expected from one of his years. Finding the gate shut, he knocked with his staff, and commanded it to be opened. The soldiers who were in garrison being surpris'd to see him, did as he commanded them. In this manner he made himself master of the citadel ; at which he was so transported with joy, that he could not contain himself, but fell to drinking and revelling in the open streets, and places of public resort, attended with female singers, and crowned with garlands. When we see a man of his age, who had experienced so many turns of fortune, thus wantonly rioting, and stopping every one he met, to salute and caress them, we must confess that unexpected joy more disturbs and agitates the mind of a man void of discretion, than either fear or sorrow.

Antigonus having in this manner possessed himself of Acrocorinthus, put a garrison into it, consisting of those in whom he chiefly confided, and made Persæus, the philosopher, governour. Aratus, even in the lifetime of Alexander, had formed a design to seize on that fortress ; but when an alliance was made between Alexander and the Achæans, he desisted from the execution of it. But now he could
not

not resist a fresh opportunity, which offered itself in this manner. There were in Corinth four brothers, Syrians by birth, one of whom named *Diocles* served as a soldier in the garrison; but the other three having seized on some of the king's treasure, retreated to Sicyon, and applied themselves to one *Ægias* a banker, whom Aratus made use of in all money-transactions. Part of this treasure they immediately sold to him; and Erginus, one of the three, going often to see him, sold all the rest to him by parcels: and this commerce created by degrees a familiarity betwixt him and the banker. One day *Ægias* led him into a discourse concerning the citadel and the garrison. Erginus, among other things, told him, that as he often went thither to visit his brother, he had observed on that side which was steepest, a small winding path cut in the rock, leading to a part of the wall, which was much lower than any of the rest. Upon this *Ægias* said to him with a smile, *And will you, my friend, run such a risk for the sake of an inconsiderable sum of money, when it is in your power to purchase immense riches, with no more than one hour's service? Do you not know, that if you are taken, you will be punished as severely for this petty theft, as if you had betrayed the citadel?* At these words Erginus laughed, and promised *Ægias* to sound his brother *Diocles*, for, said he, *I cannot confide much in the other two.*

Within a few days after this he returned, and undertook to conduct Aratus to that part of the wall where it was no more than fifteen foot high, and to assist him in the execution of his enterprise, with the concurrence of his brother *Diocles*. Aratus on his part agreed to give them sixty talents, in case he succeeded; and if they miscarried, and returned all safe back to Sicyon, he promised to give each of them a house, and a talent. The threescore talents being to be lodged in the hands of *Ægias*, and Aratus neither having so much by him,

him, nor being willing to give any grounds of suspicion by borrowing it from others, he deposited his plate and his wife's jewels with Ægias, as a security for the money. For such was the generosity of his mind, and so strong a passion had he for great exploits, that remembering that Phocion and Epaminondas were esteemed the best and justest of all the Grecians, because they scorned the greatest presents, and would not prostitute their honour for money, he strove even to outdo them, and chose to be at all the charge himself in promoting an enterprise, in which he ran all the hazard, for the sake of the rest, who did not so much as know what he was undertaking for them. And is there any one even in this age who does not admire such virtue, whose soul is not warmed, and raised above itself by the contemplation of the heroic magnanimity of that man who so dearly purchased so great a danger, and deposited in the hands of another the most valuable of his possessions for an opportunity of exposing his life amongst his enemies in the dead of night, without receiving any other pledge or security on his part than the hopes of performing a glorious action?

This enterprise, though so dangerous in itself, was made much more so by an error which happened through ignorance in the very beginning. For Technon, one of Aratus's servants, was sent away to Diocles, that they might together view the wall. Technon had never seen Diocles, but thought he should certainly know him by the marks Erginus had given of him, who described him as having curled hair, a swarthy complexion, and no beard. Being come therefore to the appointed place, he waited without the gates, in the place called *Ormis*, for Erginus and Diocles. In the mean time Dionysius, elder brother to Erginus and Diocles, who knew nothing at all of the affair, but much resembled Diocles, happened to pass by. Technon,
struck

struck with the resemblance, asked him, if he had any connection with Erginus; he answered, that he was his brother; and Technon, fully persuaded that he talked to Diocles, without so much as asking his name, or staying for any other token, gave him his hand, and began to discourse with him and ask him questions concerning what had been agreed upon with Erginus. Dionysius cunningly encouraging his mistake, seemed to understand him very well, and returning towards the city, held him in discourse without causing in him any suspicion. And being now near the gate, he was just about to seize on him, when by chance Erginus met them, and apprehending the cheat and the danger, beckoned to Technon to make his escape; and immediately both of them betaking themselves to flight, ran as fast as they could to Aratus. He, notwithstanding this accident, did not despair, but immediately sent away Erginus to Dionysius with money to bribe him to silence; and he not only effected that, but brought him along with him to Aratus. As soon as they had got him in their power, they thought it not safe to part with him, but bound him, and confined him close, whilst they prepared for the execution of their enterprize.

When all things were in readiness, Aratus commanded his troops to be in arms all night; and taking with him four hundred chosen men, few of whom knew what they were going about, he led them straight to the gates of the city by the temple of Juno. It was about the midst of summer; the moon was at full; and the night was clear without any clouds; so that their arms glittering by moonlight made them run a great hazard of being discovered by the guards. But as the foremost of them came near the city, a great mist arose from the sea, and darkened the city and the parts adjacent. There all the troops sat down to put off their shoes, as well to prevent their making a noise, as because
they

they would be less subject to slip if they mounted the ladders barefooted. But Erginus taking with him seven young men habited like travellers, got unobserved to the gate, and killed the keeper of the gate, and the guards that were with him. At the same time the ladders were placed against the walls; and Aratus having in great haste got up a hundred men, he commanded the rest to follow as well and as soon as they could; and immediately drawing up his ladders, he marched through the city with his hundred men towards the citadel, being overjoyed and in a manner sure of success, because he had proceeded thus far undiscovered.

As they were advancing, they met four of the watch with a light, which gave Aratus and his party a full and timely view of them, whilst they remained undiscovered, the moon being still overclouded. After having lain a little while in ambush among some old ruins, they sallied out upon the men, and killed three of them; but the fourth, having been wounded by a sword in the head, ran away, crying out, *that the enemy were got into the city*. Immediately upon this the trumpets sounded an alarm, and the whole city was in an uproar. The streets were in a moment full of people running some one way and some another, and illuminated by an infinite number of lights which were kindled in the city, and on the ramparts of the citadel, and a confused noise was heard from every quarter.

In the mean time Aratus kept on his way, and laboured to get up the rock. At first he went slowly, and with much difficulty, having lost the path, which lay deep, and was overshadowed by the craggy parts of the rock, and led to the wall with many windings and turnings: but the moon immediately, and as it were by miracle, dispersing the clouds, gave him light in the most difficult part of the way, till he got to the wall, and then the clouds reunited,

ted, hid the face of the moon, and once more involved every thing in obscurity.

The three hundred soldiers Aratus had left without the gates near Juno's temple, entering the town, found it full of tumult and confusion, and every where illuminated; and not being able to find the way Aratus had taken, nor discover any footsteps of him, they screened themselves under the shady side of a rocky precipice, where they waited in the utmost distress and perplexity. By this time Aratus was engaged upon the ramparts of the citadel, from whence a noise descended like that of combatants; but as it was echoed and repeated from the adjacent mountains, it was not known from whence it first proceeded. Whilst the three hundred soldiers were in doubt which way to turn themselves, Archelaus, captain of the king's guard, taking a good number of soldiers with him, made up towards the citadel, with great shouts, and trumpets founding, to attack Aratus, and marched by those three hundred men without perceiving them. He had no sooner passed them but they rose, as from an ambuscade, fell upon him, and killing the first they encountered, so terrified the rest, together with Archelaus himself, that they put them to flight, and pursued them till they were quite broken and dispersed.

As soon as this action was over, Erginus arrived, being sent from the party under Aratus, to acquaint them that they were engaged with the enemy, who defended themselves with much resolution, and that Aratus stood in great need of their speedy assistance. They immediately desired him to lead them on, and as they marched up they signified their approach by loud shouts, on purpose to encourage their friends. The moon, which happened then to be at full, shining on their armour, made them appear to the enemy at that distance more in number than they really were; and as the

silence of the night rendered the echoes more strong and sensible, their shouts seemed to proceed from a much more considerable party. At last, when they were all joined, they charged so violently that they drove off the enemy, and by break of day were masters of the citadel and garrison; so that the first rays of the rising sun seemed to illustrate the glory of their exploit. By this time the rest of the army came up to Aratus from Sicyon, the Corinthians joyfully receiving them at their gates, and helping them to secure the rest of the king's forces.

As soon as Aratus had made his victory secure, he came down from the citadel to the theatre, where a vast multitude was assembled out of curiosity to see him, and hear what he would say to the Corinthians. After he had drawn up his Achæans on each side of the avenues to the theatre, he came armed as he was from behind the scenes; but his countenance was extremely altered through excessive toil, and long watching, so that the joy and alacrity with which his success had inspired him, were clouded and depressed by bodily weakness and fatigue. The people, as soon as they beheld him, broke out into loud applauses and congratulations; and he taking his spear in his right hand, leaned against it with his knee and body a little bent, and stood a good while in that posture, silently receiving the shouts and acclamations of those who applauded his valour and extolled his fortune. When these first transports of the people were over, and the theatre grew calm, collecting the little strength he had left, he began an oration in the name of the Achæans, suitable to the late action, persuading the Corinthians to associate themselves in the league; and at the same time he delivered up to them the keys of the city, which had never been in their possession since the time of Philip. As for the officers of Antigonus, he dismissed Archelaus, whom

whom he had taken prisoner ; Theophrastus refusing to quit the city was put to death ; and Persæus, when he saw the citadel was lost, escaped to Cenchreæ. It is reported, that not long after when he was engaged in some philosophical conversation, one of the company said, *That in his opinion none but a wise man was fit to be a general.* Indeed, replied he, *of all Zeno's maxims, this formerly pleased me the most ; but now I am quite of another opinion, having been convinced by that youth of Sicyon.* This is related of Persæus by many authors.

Aratus immediately made himself master of the temple of Juno, and the haven of Lechæum, where he seized upon five and twenty of the king's ships, together with five hundred horses, and four hundred Syrian slaves, which he sold. The Achæans also put a garrison of four hundred soldiers, and beside them fifty dogs with as many keepers, into Acrocorinthus.

The Romans, in admiration of Philopœmen, called him *the last of the Grecians*, as if no great man had ever since his time been bred amongst them ; but I may well say that this was the last of the Grecian exploits, being comparable to the best of them, both for the boldness and the success of it, as the consequences proved ; for the Megarians revolting from Antigonus took part with Aratus, and the Trœzenians and Epidaurians entered into the Achæan league. His first inroad was into Attica ; after which passing over into Salamin, he plundered the island, turning the Achæan force every way, as now let loose from confinement. Those prisoners that were freemen he sent home to Athens without ransom ; which was the first foundation of their revolt from Antigonus. He drew Ptolemy likewise into the Achæan league, by resigning to him the management of the war, and getting him to be declared general both by sea and land. And so great was his reputation and credit among the Achæans,

that though he could not by law be chosen their general every year, yet every other year he was chosen ; and by his counsels and actions he was in effect always their commander. For they perceived that neither riches nor fame, nor the friendship of kings, nor the private interest of his own country, nor any thing else, was so dear to him as the increase of the Achæan power and greatness. For he thought that cities which separately were weak and inconsiderable, might be preserved and supported by each other, when linked together by one common interest. And as the members of the body live, and are nourished by their mutual communication and connection, and when once separated decay and putrefy ; in the same manner are cities ruined by being disjoined from one another ; but they mutually afford safety and strength when they are united together and become parts of one great body, by which they enjoy the benefit of that wisdom that directs and governs the whole.

Aratus therefore observing that all the most considerable neighbouring cities were free, and lived under their own laws, except Argos, and being uneasy to see her continue in bondage, resolved to destroy the tyrant Aristomachus who held her in servitude, being ambitious to pay the debt which he owed that city for his education, by restoring her to liberty, and at the same time to associate so powerful a member to the league of the Achæans. Nor were there men wanting who had the courage to undertake such an enterprise, and Æschylus and Charimenes the soothsayer were at the head of them ; but they had no swords, for the tyrant had prohibited the keeping of them under a severe penalty. To supply this defect Aratus caused several daggers to be prepared at Corinth, and hiding them in the pack-saddles of some horses that were carrying a parcel of ordinary wares to Argos, he got them by that stratagem conveyed to them. But
Charimenes

Charimenes admitting another person as a partner in the design, without the consent of Æschylus and his associates, they were so incensed at it that they excluded him, and resolved to execute the design by themselves. As soon as Charimenes perceived their intention, he in a rage went and discovered the whole plot, just as the conspirators were upon the point of executing it. When they found themselves detected, most of them made their escape to Corinth.

Not long after Aristomachus was slain by his servants *, and Aristippus a worse tyrant than he seized the government ; upon which Aratus mustering all the Achæans that were of age, hastened to the relief of the city †, supposing that he should find the Argives very ready to join with him. But the people being by custom reconciled to slavery, and none appearing to receive him, he retreated, having only given occasion to accuse the Achæans of committing acts of hostility in the midst of peace ; upon which account they were sued in the court of the Mantinæans, and Aratus not making his appearance, Aristippus cast them, and they were fined thirty minæ. And now both hating and fearing Aratus, he formed a design to kill him, and was supported in it by King Antigonus ; so that Aratus was perpetually followed and watched by those who waited for an opportunity to murder him. But the surest guard of a ruler is the good-will of his subjects ; for where the nobility and common people are not afraid of, but for their governour, he

* This Aristomachus, who was killed by his servants, is not to be confounded with him who was flung into the sea at Cenchreæ. The first had Aristippus for his successor, the second succeeded Aristippus, and surpassed all other tyrants in cruelty.

† According to Polybius, this was not undertaken by Aratus when Aristippus succeeded Aristomachus, but during the tyranny of the second Aristomachus ; unless it be allowed that Aratus made the same attempt upon Argos at two different times, and with the same success. See *Polyb. lib. 2.*

sees with many eyes, and hears with many ears whatever passes; wherefore I cannot but digress here a little from the course of my narrative, to describe that manner of life which Aristippus was obliged to lead in order to keep possession of despotic power and regal state, which are so generally envied, admired, and extolled, as the height of human happiness. This tyrant, who had Antigonus for his friend and ally, who maintained so many troops for the security of his person, and who had taken care not to leave one of his enemies alive in the city, would not suffer his guards to do duty in the palace, but in several stations without, and round about it. As soon as supper was over, he constantly sent away all his domestics, fastened the doors himself, and then mounted with his concubine into a little chamber above through a trap-door, on which he placed his bed, and slept (as a man in his condition may be supposed to sleep) always in fear, terrour, and anxiety. The woman's mother every night removed the ladder by which he climbed into his bedchamber, and locked it up in another room. In the morning she brought it again, and called up this wonderful, this happy tyrant, who came crawling out like a serpent from his hole. Whereas Aratus, who, not by the force of arms, but by his virtue, and the authority of the law, obtained a firm and perpetual command, who appeared in the view of the whole world in a plain vest and cloak, and manifested himself on every occasion an implacable enemy to all tyrants in general, has left behind him a posterity which remains in great honour and esteem among the Grecians to this day. But of all those who seized strong castles, maintained lifeguards, and fenced themselves with arms, gates, and barricadoes, how few have there been, who did not, like timorous hares, die a violent death, without either family, or honourable monument to preserve their memory?

Aratus

Aratus made several attempts both open and secret to surprise Aristippus, and recover Argos out of his hands, but always miscarried. One night particularly he proceeded so far as to plant his ladders, and mount the wall with a small number of his followers, exposing himself to the utmost danger. At first he slew all the guards who opposed him there; but as soon as day appeared, the tyrant attacked him on every side, whilst the Argives, as if it had not been for their liberties that Aratus was fighting, and they were only presiding at the Nemean games, sat totally silent and inactive like equitable and impartial spectators. However Aratus defended himself with great resolution; and though he was wounded in the thigh with a lance, he kept his ground all that day, and could he have maintained it the following night he had carried his point; for the tyrant thought of nothing but flying, and had already sent aboard his ships most of his treasure. But no one gave Aratus intelligence of it; besides, he wanted water, and was disabled by his wound from exerting himself any further. This constrained him to withdraw, and despairing to succeed by way of surprise, he had recourse to open force, and led his army into the territories of Argos, which he plundered and laid waste.

This brought on a general engagement betwixt him and the tyrant near the river Chares, where he was accused of withdrawing himself too soon from the battle, and thereby abandoning the victory. For whereas one part of his army had apparently the advantage, and pursued the enemy to a great distance, he on his part retreated in great disorder into his camp, not so much because he was overpowered by the enemy, as through fear and diffidence. When the others were returned from the pursuit, they were extremely vexed to find that though they had routed the enemy, and killed a great many more of them than they had lost themselves,

selves, yet they who were vanquished had been allowed to erect the trophy. Aratus being ashamed of his misconduct, resolved to fight a second time for the trophy. Wherefore having allowed his men one day to refresh themselves, early the next morning he drew them up in order of battle. But perceiving that the enemy were reinforced with fresh troops, and came on with more resolution than before, he durst not hazard a battle, but desiring a truce to bury his dead, retreated. However this error was obliterated by his courteous behaviour, as well as by his skilful management in the administration; for he soon after brought the inhabitants of Cleonæ into the Achæan alliance, and caused the Nemean games to be celebrated in that city, to which they anciently and of right belonged. These games were also celebrated by the Argives at the same time, which gave the first occasion to the violation of the privilege of safe conduct always granted to those who appeared as combatants on that occasion; for the Achæans sold as enemies as many of them as they could meet with returning through their country from the games at Argos. So vehement and implacable was the hatred that Aratus bore to tyrants.

Not long after Aratus having notice that Aristippus had a design upon Cleonæ, but was afraid of him, because he then resided in Corinth, assembled his army by public proclamation; and commanding them to take along with them provision for several days, he marched to Cenchreæ, hoping by this stratagem to entice Aristippus to fall upon Cleonæ, when he supposed him at a distance. And so it happened; for Aristippus immediately marched his army against it from Argos. But Aratus returning that very night from Cenchreæ to Corinth in the dusk of the evening, and stationing guards in all the passages, led on the Achæans, who followed him in so good order and with so much speed

speed and alacrity, that they were undiscovered by Aristippus, not only whilst upon their march, but even after they had entered Cleonæ in the night, and were drawn up in order of battle. As soon as it was morning, the gates being opened and the trumpets sounding, he fell upon the enemy with great fury, and routing them continued the pursuit, especially that way where he imagined that Aristippus endeavoured to make his escape, for there were a great many different roads. The pursuit lasted as far as Mycenæ, where the tyrant was slain by a certain Cretan, called *Tragiscus*, as Dinias reports; and of the common soldiers there fell above fifteen hundred. Yet though Aratus had obtained so great a victory without the loss of a man, he could not make himself master of Argos, nor restore it to its liberty; because Agias and the younger Aristomachus got into the town with the king's forces, and seized upon the government. But by this exploit he silenced the reproaches, the scoffs, and jests of those who flattered the tyrants, and in raillery would say, that the Achæan general was usually troubled with a looseness when he was to fight a battle; that at the sound of a trumpet his eyes grew dim and his head giddy; and that when he had drawn up his army, and given the word, he used to ask his lieutenants and officers, what further need there could be of his presence since the dye was cast, and then went aloof to expect the event. And so much did these reports prevail, that when the philosophers disputed in their schools whether to have one's heart beat, and to change colour upon any danger, be an argument of cowardice, or only of weakness and coldness of constitution, Aratus was always quoted as a valiant general, but subject to be so affected in time of battle.

Having thus destroyed Aristippus, he next formed a design against Lyfiades the Megalopolitan, who tyrannised

tyrannised over his country. This man was naturally of a generous temper, and not insensible of true honour. He was induced to usurp the government, not by the ordinary motives of other tyrants, licentiousness and avarice; but being young, and stimulated with the desire of glory, suffered his generous mind to be unwarily prepossessed by the vain and false applauses given to tyranny, as a very desirable and glorious thing. But he had no sooner seized on the government, than he grew weary of the weight of it; and at once emulating the happiness, and fearing the policy of Aratus, he took a noble resolution, first to free himself from hatred and fear, from soldiers and guards, and then to be a public benefactor to his country. Sending therefore immediately for Aratus, he resigned the government, and incorporated his city into the Achæan community. The Achæans applauding this action, chose him general; upon which, desiring to outstrip Aratus in glory, amongst many other improper things he declared war against the Lacedæmonians; and the opposition which Aratus made to this was, thought to proceed from envy. Lyfiades was a second time chosen general, though Aratus appeared against him, and laboured to have that charge conferred upon another; for Aratus himself had that command every other year, as has been said before. Lyfiades succeeded so well in his pretensions, that he was thrice chosen general, governing alternately, as Aratus did. But at last declaring himself his professed enemy, and accusing him frequently to the Achæans, he was rejected; for it appeared plainly that with counterfeited merit he contended against true and sincere virtue. Æsop tells us, *that the cuckoo one day asking the little birds, why they flew away from her, was answered, Because they feared she would some time or other prove a hawk;* and thus it fell out with Lyfiades. His former tyranny made the world still entertain a strong

strong suspicion of him that his change was not sincere.

Aratus acquired new glory in the war against the Ætolians; for as the Achæans were very desirous to give them battle on the confines of Megara, in which they were seconded by Agis king of Lacedæmon, who had been called in to their assistance, Aratus very warmly opposed it, and endured with great patience the imputation of cowardice, and all the scoffs and reproaches that were thrown upon him, chusing rather to expose himself to present disgrace, than to sacrifice the public interest. He therefore retired before the enemy, and suffered them to pass over Mount Gerania, and enter Peloponnesus, without making any opposition. But as soon as he understood they had seized on the city of Pellene in their march, he was then quite another man; for without loss of time, or waiting for the rest of his troops, he took such as he had with him, and marched instantly against the enemy, who were weakened by their victory, which had made them insolent and disorderly. For they were no sooner got within the walls of Pellene, but the soldiers dispersed themselves into the several houses, where they were quarrelling for the plunder, whilst the commanders seized on the wives and daughters of the Pellenians, every man putting his helmet upon the head of his prize, to denote to whom she belonged, and prevent her falling into the hands of another.

They were in this posture when news was brought that Aratus was at hand, and ready to fall upon them. This threw them into a terrible consternation, as might reasonably be expected when they were in such extreme disorder; and before the hindmost could hear of the danger, they who were nearest to the gates, and in the suburbs, skirmishing with the Achæans were soon routed, and by their flight struck terror into those who
were

were rallying and marching to their assistance. In this tumult and confusion one of the captives, who was the daughter of Epigethes one of the most considerable of the citizens, and was remarkable for her beauty and majestic stature, was sitting in the temple of Diana, where the officer whose prize she was, had secured her, having put his helmet adorned with three plumes of feathers upon her head. She, alarmed at the great noise she heard, arose in order to fly; but when she was got to the gate of the temple, and from the top of the steps looked down upon the combatants with the helmet still upon her head, she seemed to the citizens to be something more than human; and the enemy believing her to be some deity, were seized with such fear and astonishment, that they had no power to defend themselves.

The Pellenians tell us that the statue of Diana stands usually untouched, and that when the priestess removes it, and it is borne in procession, every one turns his eyes away from it, without daring to look towards it; for not only is the sight of it terrible and dangerous to mankind, but where-ever it passes the trees become barren, and the fruit is blasted. This image therefore, they say, the priestess produced at that time, and holding it directly before the faces of the Ætolians, deprived them of their reason and judgment. But Aratus mentions no such thing in his commentaries. He only says, that having routed the Ætolians, and entering the city with them as they fled, he drove them out by main force, and killed seven hundred of them. This was celebrated as one of the greatest exploits that ever was performed; and Timanthes the painter has given a very strong and lively representation of it.

In the mean time many princes and states confederating against the Achæans, Aratus thought it best to conclude a peace with the Ætolians. On this

this occasion he made use of the assistance of Pantaleon, one of the most powerful men among them; by his means he not only made a peace, but concluded an offensive and defensive alliance between the two nations. Being very desirous to set free the Athenians also, he was censured and accused by the Achæans, for having, notwithstanding the truce agreed upon between them and the Macedonians, attempted to take the haven of Piræus. But he denies this fact in his commentaries, and lays the blame on Erginus, by whose assistance he took the citadel of Corinth, alleging that he of himself, without any directions from him, endeavoured to scale the Piræus, and that as his ladders happened to break, and he was hotly pursued, he called out several times upon Aratus as if he had been present, by which means he deceived the enemy, and escaped. But methinks this excuse is very weak; for it is not likely that Erginus, a private man, and a Syrian, should conceive in his mind so great an attempt, unless he had been prompted to it by Aratus, had been furnished by him with forces, and been instructed what was the proper time for executing it. This further appears from the conduct of Aratus himself, who did not twice or thrice, but very often discover a design to be master of the Piræus; in which he persisted with the obstinacy of a passionate lover, and was so far from being discouraged by his disappointments, that as he only narrowly missed of success, he was still more eagerly bent to proceed. One time in particular making his escape through Thriasium, he dislocated his leg, and was forced to undergo several incisions in order to his cure, so that for a long time he was carried in a litter to the wars.

As soon as Antigonus was dead, and Demetrius succeeded him in the kingdom, Aratus was more determined than ever to set Athens at liberty, and showed a thorough contempt for the Macedonians.

Wherefore being overthrown in a battle near Phylacia, by Bythis, Demetrius's general, and there being a very strong report, that he was either taken or slain, Diogenes, the governour of the Piræus, sent letters to Corinth, commanding the *Achæans* to depart that city, *since Aratus was dead*. When these letters came to Corinth, Aratus happened to be there in person, so that Diogenes's messengers, after having been sufficiently ridiculed, were forced to return back. King Demetrius also sent a ship from Macedonia, wherein Aratus was to be brought to him in chains. But the Athenians exceeding all bounds in flattering the Macedonians, crowned themselves with garlands upon the first news of his death; wherefore invading their territories in a rage, he penetrated as far as the academy; but then suffering himself to be pacified, he committed no further act of hostility. This convinced the Athenians of his virtue; so that when afterwards upon the death of Demetrius they attempted to recover their liberty, they called him to their assistance. Although at that time another person was general of the *Achæans*, and Aratus himself was confined to his bed by a distemper which had hung long upon him, yet, rather than not assist the city in that exigence, he was carried thither in a litter. As soon as he was arrived, he prevailed with Diogenes the governour to deliver up the haven of Piræus, the fortrefs of Munychia, Salamin, and Sunium to the Athenians, in consideration of a hundred and fifty talents, of which Aratus himself furnished twenty. Upon this the *Æginetæ* and the *Hermionians* joined themselves to the *Achæans*, and the greatest part of *Arcadia* became tributary to them; so that the Macedonians ceasing to molest them, by reason of their wars with other neighbouring nations, and the *Ætolians* being their allies, the *Achæan* power increased very considerably.

Aratus, desiring to effect the design he had long meditated,

meditated, and not enduring that tyranny should still maintain itself in a city so near as Argos, sent to Aristomachus to persuade him *to restore liberty to that city, and to associate it to the Achæans, and following Lysides's example, rather chuse to be the general of a great nation, with esteem and honour, than the tyrant of one city, with continual hatred and danger.* Aristomachus consented, and desired Aratus to send him fifty talents, with which he might pay off the soldiers. In the mean time whilst the money was providing, Lysides being then general, and extremely ambitious that this advantage might seem to be procured for the Achæans by him, accused Aratus to Aristomachus, as one who bore an irreconcilable hatred to tyrants, and advised him to commit the affair to his management. Thus Aristomachus was brought into the league by Lysides. But here the Achæan council gave a manifest proof of the great credit Aratus had with them, and the good-will they bore him. For when he spoke against Aristomachus's being admitted into the association, they rejected him with great anger; but as soon as he had changed his opinion, and began to appear in behalf of Aristomachus, they cheerfully and readily decreed that the Argives and Phliasiens should be incorporated into their community; and the next year they chose Aristomachus general.

Aristomachus finding himself highly honoured and esteemed by the Achæans, was very desirous to invade Laconia, and for that purpose sent for Aratus from Athens. Aratus wrote to him to dissuade him from that expedition, being very unwilling that the Achæans should be engaged against Cleomenes, a man of such a daring spirit, upon whom the greatest dangers had no other effect than to augment his power and reputation. But Aristomachus resolving to go on, Aratus obeyed his summons, and repaired to the army. Cleomenes offered them battle near Pallantium; but Aratus prevailing upon

Aristomachus not to engage, Lyfiades brought an accusation against him before the Achæans, and the year following contended with him for the command; but Aratus had the majority of votes, and was for the twelfth time declared general.

This year he was defeated by Cleomenes near Mount Lycæum, and put to flight; and as he lost his way in the night, it was said that he was slain. This was the second time the report of his death was spread, and believed by the Grecians. But he having escaped this danger and rallied his forces, was not content to march off in safety, but making use of the present conjuncture, when no one expected any such thing, fell suddenly upon the Mantineans, who were allies of Cleomenes; and when he had taken the city, he put a garrison into it, and declared all those strangers free of the city, who had settled in it. Thus he procured greater advantages to the Achæans when vanquished, than they could have hoped for if they had been conquerors.

The Lacedæmonians a second time invading the territories of the Megalopolitans, Aratus marched to their assistance, but refused coming to an engagement with Cleomenes, though he did all he could to provoke him to it; nor would he be prevailed upon by the Megalopolitans, who most earnestly pressed him to fight. For besides that he was not naturally well qualified to conduct a pitched battle, he was then much inferiour in number of men, and was to deal with a daring man in the prime of life, himself being now in the decline of his ambition as well as courage. He considered also that he ought to maintain that glory he was now in possession of, by caution, which the other aspired to by activity and resolution.

However the light-armed infantry having made a sally, pushed the Lacedæmonians as far as their camp, and even entered with them, and began to plunder

plunder their tents; yet Aratus could not be provoked even by that advantage, but posting himself in a hollow hindered his troops from advancing. Lyfiades was enraged at this conduct, and upbraiding Aratus with cowardice, entreated the horse to second those who were pursuing the enemy, and not to let the victory slip out of their hands, nor to forsake him, who was going to venture his life in the service of his country. When he had drawn together a good body of chosen troops, he charged the enemy's right wing with so much vigour, that he soon broke them, and put them to flight. But pursuing them with an inconsiderate heat, and too impatient a desire of glory, he intangled himself in a winding intricate way which was planted thick with trees, and was full of broad ditches, where Cleomenes turning upon him, and attacking him, he fell in the most glorious of all actions, valiantly defending the entrance into his country. The rest of the cavalry betaking themselves to flight, fell back upon the main body, where they broke the ranks, communicated their fears in every quarter, and made the whole army share with them in their defeat.

This misfortune and disgrace was chiefly charged upon Aratus, who was suspected of having betrayed Lyfiades. The Achæans, who retired in great indignation, constrained him to follow them as far as Ægium, where a council being called, it was decreed that he should no longer be furnished with money, nor have any more foreign soldiers hired for him, but that, if he would make war, he should do it at his own expense. He resented this affront so highly, that he was upon the point of delivering up the seal, and laying down the office of general; but, upon further consideration, he thought it best to bear it with patience; and soon after leading the Achæans to Orchomenes, he fought Megistonius the father-in-law of Cleomenes,

overthrew him, killed three hundred of his men, and took him prisoner.

As he used to be chosen general every other year, when his turn came he was called to take upon him that charge; but he refused it, and Timoxenus was chosen in his stead. His resentment for his late disgrace, which was alleged as the reason for this refusal, was not the real cause, but the bad situation of the Achæan affairs. For Cleomenes did not now invade them in a feeble cautious manner as formerly, and like one curbed by the magistrates; but having killed the Ephori, equally divided the lands, made many strangers free of the city, and thus rendered himself absolute in his government, he fell with great impetuosity upon the Achæans, and peremptorily demanded to be declared general of the league. Wherefore Aratus was much blamed, that in so terrible a storm, when the whole community was in danger of sinking, he who was pilot should quit the helm, when he ought rather to have seized on it by force if it had been in the hands of another, and have provided for the common safety. Or if he thought that the affairs of the Achæans were in a desperate condition, and that it was out of his power to retrieve them, he ought to have yielded to Cleomenes, rather than reduce Peloponnesus again to a state of barbarism, by filling it with Macedonian troops, and placing a garrison of Illyrians and Gauls * in the citadel of Corinth; nor should he have joined with those whom he had so often overcome by military stratagems and superiour policy, nor under the specious name of confederates have admitted those into his towns and fortresses, whom he constantly inveighed against with such bitterness in his commentaries.

* For it would have been more honourable and glorious for the Achæans to have had the king of Sparta general of the league, than with their dissensions to uncivilize Peloponnesus, by crowding it with so many garrisons of Macedonians, Gauls, Illyrians, &c.

It may be said that Cleomenes was arbitrary and tyrannical; but supposing this to be true, yet he was descended from the Heraclidæ, and Sparta was his country, the meanest citizen of which deserved to have been preferred to the generalship of the league, before the first of the Macedonians, by those who were in any degree concerned for the honour and dignity of Greece. Besides, Cleomenes laid claim to that command for no other end, but that he might have it in his power to be serviceable to the Achæans, in return for their conferring that honour upon him. Whereas when Antigonus was declared commander in chief by sea and land, he would not accept of that charge till the citadel of Corinth was delivered into his hands, as the hire of the service he was to perform; imitating herein Æsop's huntsman, who would not mount the horse till he had first bridled him *. For Antigonus refused to ride the Achæans, though they offered their backs to him, and courted him to it by their decrees and embassies, till he had bridled them by the garrison he placed in the citadel, and the hostages he exacted from them. It is true Aratus endeavours to justify himself by alleging the necessity he was under. But we are assured by Polybius, that long before this, being jealous of the enterprising genius of Cleomenes, he had entered into a secret treaty with Antigonus, and prevailed upon the Megalopolitans to demand in the council of the Achæans that he might be called in to their assistance. For the Megalopolitans were the most exposed of any to the incursions and depredations of Cleomenes. Phylarchus writes the same thing :

* This is the same fable with that told by Horace, ep. x. lib. i.

*Cervus equum, pugna melior, communibus herbis
Pellebat*

This fable is in Æsop's collection; but it is said that before him the poet Stesichorus applied it to the Himerians, who were going to raise a guard for Phalaris.

but

but we are not to give much credit to that historian, where he is not supported by the testimony of Polybius; for whenever he mentions Cleomenes, his zeal throws him into a fit of enthusiasm, and as if he was rather pleading in a court of justice, than writing a history, his whole business is to accuse the one, and justify the other.

The Achæans therefore lost the city of Mantinea, which Cleomenes took from them a second time; and being beaten in a great battle near Hecatombæum, so general was the consternation, that they immediately sent to Cleomenes to desire him to come to Argos, and take the government upon him. But Aratus, as soon as he understood that he was coming, and was got as far as Lerna with his army, fearing the consequence sent ambassadors to him, to entreat him to come accompanied with three hundred only, as to friends and confederates, and if he mistrusted them, to offer him hostages. Cleomenes thinking himself mocked and insulted by this message, returned back immediately, and sent a letter to the council of the Achæans full of complaints and invectives against Aratus. Aratus wrote one likewise in the same style against Cleomenes; and such was their bitterness and rancour on this occasion, that the reputation even of their wives and families was brought into the quarrel.

Upon this Cleomenes sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans, and in the mean time very narrowly missed of taking Sicyon by treachery. Retiring from thence, he assaulted Pellene, and having driven out the Achæan general, he made himself master of it; and not long after he likewise took Pheneus and Penteleum; upon which the Argives voluntarily joined with him, and the Phliæans received a garrison; and in short none of the cities remained firm in the Achæan interest, but an universal confusion surrounded Aratus, who beheld all Peloponnesus shaken, and all the cities revolting
through

through the practices of those who were desirous of a change. For no place was quiet or satisfied with the present condition ; so that amongst the Sicyonians and Corinthians themselves, many were discovered to have carried on a private correspondence with Cleomenes, having long been disaffected to the public welfare, out of a desire to get in power themselves.

Aratus receiving a commission to try and condemn them without appeal, passed sentence of death upon as many as were found guilty at Sicyon. But as he was proceeding with the same rigour at Corinth also, he irritated the people, who were already out of humour, and were grown weary of the Achæan government. Wherefore running tumultuously to the temple of Apollo, they sent for Aratus, resolving to take or kill him before they broke out into open rebellion. He came accordingly, leading his horse in his hand, as if he suspected nothing. As soon as he appeared at the gate of the temple, several stood up and accused him with great warmth and bitterness ; but he, with a steady countenance and mild address, desired them to sit down, and not behave in that irregular and tumultuous manner. At the same time he caused all those to enter into the temple who were standing at the gate, whilst he drew back by little and little, as if he wanted some body to hold his horse. Clearing himself thus insensibly from the croud, and speaking without any emotion or concern to as many of the Corinthians as he met, and pressing them to go to the temple, as soon as he saw himself near the citadel, before any one could have the least suspicion of his design, he leaped upon his horse, and having enjoined Cleopater, who commanded in the garrison, to be careful of his charge, he rode away to Sicyon, followed by no more than thirty of his soldiers, the rest leaving him, and shifting for themselves.

As

As soon as it was known that he was fled, the Corinthians sent out a party after him to apprehend him; but failing of their design, they immediately sent for Cleomenes, and delivered up the city to him. He did not think the possession of the city an equivalent for the loss of Aratus, whom they had suffered to slip out of their hands. However, as soon as the inhabitants of the territory near the sea called *Acte* had joined him, and surrendered their towns to him, he made a wall of circumvallation round the citadel of Corinth.

In the mean time, as soon as Aratus was arrived at Sicyon, some of the Achæans came in to him, and in a general assembly once more declared him commander in chief with absolute power, and appointed a guard of his own citizens to attend him. After having governed the Achæans for thirty-three years together, during which time he was the first man in Greece both in power and reputation, he now found himself abandoned, indigent, persecuted, and exposed to the fury of that tempest by which his country was shipwrecked. For the Ætolians refused to assist him in his distress, when he sent to them for aid; and the Athenians, who were well affected to him, were prevented from lending him any succour by the authority of Euclides and Micion. He had a house and some money at Corinth, which Cleomenes did not meddle with, nor would he suffer any one else to touch them; but sending for his friends and domestics, he commanded them to take care of his concerns, letting them know that they were to give an account of them to Aratus. He also privately sent Tripylus to him, and afterwards Megistonus his father-in-law, to offer him, beside several other things, a yearly pension of twelve talents, which was twice as much as Ptolemy allowed him, for he gave him but six; and all that he demanded in return was only to be declared general of the Achæans, and together with

with them to have the custody of the citadel of Corinth: to which Aratus returned for answer, *that he did not now govern the affairs of the Achæans, but was rather governed by them.* Cleomenes taking this answer for an evasion and affront, immediately invaded the territories of Sicyon, which he plundered and ravaged, and kept the city blocked up for three months together; all which time Aratus was debating with himself whether he should bribe Antigonus to come to his assistance with the surrender of the citadel, for no aid was to be expected from him without it.

In the mean time the Achæans held a council at Ægium, to which they called Aratus. But it was very hazardous for him to go thither while Cleomenes was encamped before the city; besides, the citizens endeavoured to stop him by their entreaties, protesting that they would not suffer him to expose himself to such apparent danger, the enemy being so near; the women also and children hung about him, weeping and embracing him as their common father and defender. But he having comforted and encouraged them, got on horseback, and being accompanied with ten of his friends, and his son, then a youth, rode to the sea-side, and finding some vessels there lying at anchor, embarked and sailed to Ægium to assist at the council, in which it was decreed that Antigonus should be called in to their aid, and should have the citadel of Corinth delivered to him; and Aratus sent his son to him with the other hostages. The Corinthians being extremely offended at this proceeding, seized on his treasure, and gave his house to Cleomenes.

Antigonus being now near at hand with his army, which consisted of twenty thousand foot, and one thousand four hundred horse, Aratus with the other magistrates * went unsuspected by the enemy to meet

* It is in the Greek, *μετὰ τῶν δημογυῶν*, for that was the name
the

meet him by sea, as far as Pegæ, though he had no great confidence either in Antigonus or the Macedonians; for he was very sensible that he had built his greatness upon their loss, and that the first pretension he had to the management of affairs was founded upon the enmity between him and Antigonus the elder. But perceiving the present necessity of affairs, which those who seem to command are constrained to obey, he resolved to put all to the venture. As soon as Antigonus was told that Aratus was coming up to him, he saluted the rest of the company in the ordinary forms, but him he received at the very first with peculiar marks of respect, and finding him upon trial to be a good and prudent man, he admitted him to his most intimate friendship. For Aratus was not only qualified for the management of great affairs, but agreeable also in private conversation; and therefore, though Antigonus was young, yet as soon as he observed the temper of the man to be proper for a prince's friendship, he made more use of him than of any other, not only of the Achæans, but even of the Macedonians who were about him; and thus that event came to pass which the gods had foreshewn. For it is reported, that as Aratus was not long before offering sacrifice, there were found in the liver of the victim two gall-bladders inclosed in the same caul; whereupon the soothsayer assured him that two persons, who at present seemed to be irreconcilable, would soon be united in the strictest ties of friendship. Aratus at first despised this prediction, placing no confidence in the prognostications drawn from victims, and chusing rather to make use of his reason. But some time after, when the war

the Dorians gave their magistrates, *Δημιουργοί, παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ δημοσία πράττοντες, ὥσπερ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ Δήμαρχοι λεγόνται.* Hesych. "Demiourgoi among the Dorians are those magistrates who are intrusted with the administration of their affairs, and are the same with those the Athenians call *Demarchoi*."

proceeded

proceeded successfully, Antigonus made an entertainment at Corinth, to which a great number of guests were invited, and Aratus was placed next above him. Whilst they were at table, Antigonus called for a cloak to fling over him, and asked Aratus *if he did not find it very cold*; and he replying *that the cold was extremely severe*, Antigonus pressed him to come still nearer, and the servants threw the cloak over the shoulders of both of them. Then Aratus remembering the sacrifice fell a-laughing, and told the king of the prodigy, and the interpretation that was put upon it. But this did not happen till after the time of which we are now speaking.

As soon as they had both sworn fidelity to each other at Pegæ, they marched against the enemy. There happened many actions under the walls of Corinth, where Cleomenes had strongly fortified himself; and the Corinthians defended themselves with great courage and resolution. In the mean time Aristotle the Argive, one of Aratus's friends, sent privately to him, to let him know, that he would induce the city of Argos to revolt, if he would come thither in person with some soldiers. Aratus acquainted Antigonus with this, and taking fifteen hundred men with him, sailed immediately from the Isthmus to Epidaurus. But the Argives, without waiting for his arrival, rose on a sudden, and falling upon Cleomenes's soldiers, drove them into the citadel. Cleomenes having notice of this, and fearing lest if the enemy should possess themselves of Argos, they might cut off his retreat homewards, quitted the citadel of Corinth that very night, and marched to the assistance of his friends in Argos. He got thither before Aratus, and gained some advantage over the enemy; but Aratus appearing not long after, and the king approaching with his forces, he retreated to Mantinea.

Immediately upon this, all the cities in Pelopon-
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nefus declared for the Achæans; Antigonus seized on the citadel of Corinth; and Aratus being chosen general by the Argives persuaded them to present Antigonus with the estates of the late tyrants, and all the traitors. After they had put Aristomachus to the torture at Cenchreæ, they threw him into the sea*; upon which Aratus was highly blamed for suffering a person to die unjustly, who was not a bad man; who had had many transactions with him; and who at his persuasion had abdicated the tyranny, and prevailed upon his city to unite itself to the Achæan community†. He was charged likewise with several other things; as that it was at his

* Phylarchus the historian highly exaggerates the death of this tyrant, as if they had made him suffer the most cruel torments; but this is very fully refuted by Polybius, *lib. 11*.

† Plutarch seems here to give into the prejudices of Phylarchus, who was a zealous defender of Aristomachus. He ought rather to have followed Polybius, who in his second book makes it appear that this Aristomachus did not only deserve a much severer punishment than that of being cast into the sea; but that if he had suffered even more than what is complained of by Phylarchus, all would not have been sufficient to expiate the evil he was author of in the compass of one day, when Aratus having got secretly into Argos at the head of some few of his Achæans, exposed his person to imminent danger, and fought bravely for the liberty of Argos, yet was forced to retire, because not one of the citizens appeared to assist him, so great and general was their dread of the tyrant. Aristomachus laying hold on this opportunity to satiate his cruelty, pretended that several of the Argives were in confederacy with the Achæans, and caused eighty of the most considerable men in the city to be murdered, after he had first tortured them in the presence of their nearest relations. It is true he afterwards abdicated the tyranny at the persuasion of Aratus, upon which the Achæans forgave him all his past crimes, gave him a share in the administration, and even made him general of their forces. But the moment he saw a glimpse of more favourable expectations from Cleomenes, he forgot this humanity of the Achæans, separated himself and his country from the league in the time of their greatest distress, and declared for their enemies; so that when once they had taken him, they might justly have carried him up and down throughout Peloponnesus, and having in that manner exposed him to the whole world, have condemned him to an open public punishment. And yet this wretch suffered no other punishment than to be drowned in the sea for something he had done at Cenchreæ. This is Aratus's apology, and deserved to have been taken notice of by Plutarch.

instigation

instigation that the Achæans delivered up the city of Corinth to Antigonus with as little concern as if it had been an inconsiderable village; that after Antigonus had sacked Orchomenus, they suffered him to put into it a garrison of Macedonians; that they made a decree that no letters nor embassy should be sent to any other king, without the consent of Antigonus; that they were forced to maintain the Macedonian garrison; that they made sacrifices, feasts, and games, in honour of Antigonus, his citizens setting the first example, and receiving Antigonus into the city at the instigation of Aratus, who entertained him in his own house. All these miscarriages they charged him with, not considering, that having once put the reins into Antigonus's hands, he was now hurried along by the impetuosity of the regal power; that he was master of nothing but his tongue; and that it was dangerous to use even that with freedom. For it was very plain, that Aratus was much displeased at several of Antigonus's actions, especially at that relating to the statues. For Antigonus restored all those of the tyrants in Argos, which had been displaced by Aratus, and on the contrary removed all the statues of those who had at any time surprised the citadel of Corinth, that of Aratus only excepted; nor could all Aratus's remonstrances and entreaties divert him from that resolution. Besides, the usage of the Mantineans by the Achæans seems not agreeable to the Grecian moderation and humanity; for having taken their city by the help of Antigonus, they put to death the principal men amongst them: and for the rest, some of them they sold, others they sent bound in fetters into Macedonia, and made slaves of their wives and children. A third part of the money thus raised was divided amongst themselves, and the other two thirds were distributed among the Macedonians. But in this they only followed the common dictates of revenge;

for however shocking it may seem for men to massacre in their rage those of the same nation and kindred, yet in some urgent circumstances (as Simonides says) the horror of it disappears, and it becomes pleasant by the ease it gives to minds inflamed and exasperated by resentment *. But as to what was afterwards done to that city, Aratus can never plead that it was either honourable or necessary; for when the Argives had the city freely bestowed on them by Antigonus, and resolved to people it, he being then chosen the director of that affair, and being general at that time, decreed, that it should no more be called *Mantineia*, but *Antigonea*, which name it still bears. Thus it seems that by his means *the beautiful Mantineia*, as Homer calls it, became extinct, and that another city was erected in its place, bearing the name of him who had destroyed and expelled her inhabitants.

Some time after this, Cleomenes, being overthrown in a great battle near Sellasia, forsook the city of Sparta, and fled into Egypt; and Antigonus having shown all manner of civility and kindness to Aratus, retired into Macedonia; and falling sick there, he declared Philip, who was yet very young, his successor; and sending him into Peloponnesus, he ordered him above all things to be guided by the advice of Aratus, and by his mediation to

* For the Mantineans had before that sent to the Achæans, and demanded a garrison to protect them from the Lacedæmonians. Upon this the Achæans sent them three hundred of their own citizens, and two hundred foreign soldiers. Some time after, the Mantineans in a most detestable perfidious manner murdered that very garrison, which they had so earnestly begged of the Achæans. And yet when the Achæans had retaken their city, they only suffered in the plunder of their goods, and the sale of some of the inhabitants. What Plutarch says concerning the death of the chief men amongst them, is a falsity vented by Phylarchus, who was resolved to blacken Aratus and the Achæans at the expense of truth. But allowing all he says to be true, Polybius makes it appear that there was nothing severe, or even cruel, which the Mantineans had not deserved at the hands of Aratus and the Achæans; and if they did not push their revenge to the utmost extremity, it was owing to their moderation and humanity.

treat with the cities, and make himself known to the Achæans. Aratus received him with the greatest honour, and managed him with so much judgment, that he sent him back into Macedonia full of sentiments of affection and respect to him, and in the most favourable dispositions for the interest of Greece.

After the death of Antigonus the Ætolians began to despise the indolence and inactivity of the Achæans *; for being accustomed to be defended by foreigners, and to shelter themselves under the Macedonian arms, they led an idle life, and quite neglected all discipline. This encouraged the Ætolians to aim at the dominion of Peloponnesus †. They entered into it in an hostile manner, and in their march plundered the territories of Patræ and Dyme; after which they invaded Messene, and ravaged all the country. Aratus being incensed at this, and perceiving that Timoxenus, who was general for the year, acted dilatorily, and spun out the time because his authority was near expiring, as he was to command for the ensuing year, anticipated his authority by five days, on purpose to march to the succour of the Messenians. Having therefore mustered the Achæans, whose bodies were unexercised, and whose minds were relaxed and indisposed for war, he was defeated near Caphyæ; and being accused of having acted on that

* Polybius in his fourth book tells us that after Cleomenes had been driven out of his kingdom, the Peloponnesians, who were tired with the late wars, and imagined the present tranquillity was to continue for ever, entirely neglected the use of arms, and all military occupations.

† The Ætolians had of a long time been enemies to peace, because in times of peace they were forced to maintain themselves, whereas they had been used to live by rapine. Antigonus kept them in awe whilst he lived, but after his death they despised the minority of Philip, and sought a pretence to quarrel with the Peloponnesians. *Polyb. lib. iv.*

occasion with more heat than prudence * ; he ran into the other extreme, became timorous and inactive, seemed to abandon all hopes of success, and overlooked the advantages given him by the Ætolians, who rioted in Peloponnesus, with all manner of insolence and licentiousness †. Wherefore requesting once more the assistance of the Macedonians, they engaged Philip in the affairs of Greece, hoping that by reason of his confidence in Aratus, and the friendship he had for him, they should find him very tractable, and be able to manage him as they pleased.

But the king then first began to listen to Apelles, Megalæus, and some other courtiers, who endeavoured to ruin the credit Aratus had with him,

* Polybius informs us that there were four charges brought against Aratus. The first was his taking upon him the command before his time, and running headlong into an enterprise the event of which he could not from his past experience expect to be successful. The second was his disbanding the Achæans at an unreasonable time, when he saw the Ætolians in the heart of Peloponnesus. The third was his engaging with too few troops, though he had it in his power to draw off without any hazard into the neighbouring towns, where he might have raised more forces, and then have given the enemy battle if he found it expedient. The last, and indeed the heaviest, was, that after he had resolved upon fighting, he acted with great rashness and imprudence. For he sent his cavalry and light-armed men to attack the enemy's rear after their front had gained the hill. Whereas he ought to have encountered the front at first, whilst they were in the plain, where he would have had the advantage of them, and might have had reason to expect his heavy-armed soldiers would have done him great service.

In answer to these accusations, Aratus proved that the misfortune ought not to be imputed to any ill conduct in him; adding, that if he had not acted in every circumstance as became an experienced general, he asked pardon, and begged them to weigh his actions not rigorously, but with indulgence. This rendered the whole assembly favourable to him, and turned their resentment against his accusers; so that they adhered to his counsel in all their future undertakings.

† Polybius observes that ever after this he appeared more like a statesman than a general; and that the memory of his late loss made him entirely abstain from action; that he let the Ætolians live at discretion, and suffered them to retire unmolested, though they made their retreat through narrow passes, where the very sound of a trumpet was almost sufficient to have defeated them.

and

and prevailed upon him to favour the contrary faction, and procure Eperatus to be chosen general by the Achæans. But this Eperatus falling into the lowest degree of contempt, and Aratus taking no farther care of affairs, every thing was ill managed; upon which Philip finding his mistake, renewed his friendship with Aratus, and resigned himself wholly to his conduct; and as, in the present situation of affairs, he seemed likely to advance in power and reputation, he depended upon him for the augmentation of both. Aratus hereby gave a proof to the world that he was as capable of guiding a kingdom, as a republic; for the actions of the king seemed to receive a tincture from Aratus's temper and character; and the moderation showed by this young prince to the Lacedæmonians *, who had incurred his

* The Lacedæmonians being desirous to alter their form of government, and reduce it to a democracy, murdered Adimas one of their Ephori, and some others who were in the king's interest. The Ephori sent their ambassadors to Philip, who was just come out of Macedon, to justify the action. These ambassadors met the king near Mount Parthenium; Philip ordered them to return to Lacedæmon, and commanded the Ephori to send to him at Tegea some persons qualified to confer with him on the present posture of affairs. The Ephori sent to him ten of the principal men in Sparta, who were introduced into the council, where when they had accused Adimas as the author of all the disorders that had happened, and made great protestations of their fidelity to Philip, they were ordered to retire. The council were divided in their opinion. Some of them, convinced of the disaffection of the Lacedæmonians, and knowing that Adimas was slain only because he was in Philip's interest, and that they were inclined to enter into alliance with the Ætolians, advised the king to make an example of them, and treat them in the same manner as Alexander had formerly treated the Thebans. Others of the council, among whom were the most ancient, thought that the punishment was greater than the crime deserved, and that it would be sufficient if the king chastised the authors of the sedition, by depriving them of their offices, and putting in their place some of his own friends. When it came to the king's turn to give his opinion, he said, that he was not personally concerned in the offences committed by the allies against one another; and therefore it was fit for him only to speak or write to them, and exhort them to return to their duty, and let them know he had an eye upon their behaviour; that if any thing was done in prejudice of the alliance in general, that being a common concern, the alliance in general were to resent and punish it; that as the Lacedæmonians had

done

his displeasure, his courteous behaviour to the Cre-
tans, by which in a few days he gained the whole
island, and his glorious and successful expedition a-
gainst the Ætolians, procured great reputation to
him for following good advice, and to Aratus for
giving it. This increased the envy and jealousy of
the courtiers, who finding they could not prevail
against him by their secret practices, began openly
to abuse and affront him in their debauches, with
the greatest impudence and scurrility; and once
they threw stones at him as he was retiring after
supper to his tent. At this Philip being extremely
offended, immediately fined them twenty talents;
and finding afterwards that they still continued to
perplex and disorder his affairs, he put them to
death. But being elated with the prosperous course
of his affairs, many vitious inclinations sprung up
and gained strength in him continually; and now
breaking through all restraint, and throwing off the
disguise which contrary to nature he had hitherto
worn, he gradually discovered his innate wicked-
ness, and appeared in his true character. In the
first place, he injured Aratus the younger, by de-
bauching his wife, with whom he maintained a
commerce for a long time undiscovered, being
lodged in the same house with them, upon the in-
vitation of Aratus. After this he grew more un-
tractable and severe towards the several cities and
communities; and it was easily seen that he intend-
ed no longer to be directed by Aratus, to whom he
showed great coolness and indifference. The be-

done nothing openly in breach of that alliance, but had promised to
submit to any terms that should be thought just and equitable, there
was no reason why he should come to any violent resolutions against
them; that, on the contrary, it would look strange that when his fa-
ther, after he had conquered them as enemies, dealt very graciously
with them, he who was their ally should for so slight a cause treat
them with severity. This answer is attributed by Polybius to Aratus,
because it is not probable that a young prince, no more than seven-
teen years of age, should be able to speak of himself with so much
prudence and moderation.

ginning

ginning of this alienation was owing to a misunderstanding in Messene, the inhabitants of which city quarrelling among themselves, Aratus marched to put a stop to the sedition; but Philip arriving there a day before him, instead of appeasing the inhabitants, endeavoured to irritate them still more against one another. On the one hand he asked the magistrates, if they were not enabled by law to keep the people in obedience; and on the other he asked the ringleaders of the sedition, if they wanted hands to help themselves against their oppressors. Thus both parties being animated by him, the magistrates attempted to seize the heads of the faction, and they stirring up the people against the magistrates, slew them and many others with them, so that there were near two hundred killed in that sedition.

While Philip, after having committed this inhuman action, was continuing to exasperate the Messenians still more against each other, Aratus arrived. From the very first he plainly showed that he resented this proceeding of Philip, and suffered his son, without silencing him, to reproach him with great acrimony, and in very injurious language. This young man, it seems, was in love with Philip: but upon this occasion he told him among other things, *That he no longer appeared beautiful to him after the commission of such an action, but on the contrary the ugliest of all men.* To this Philip gave him no answer, though he evidently was much provoked, and muttered often to himself whilst the other was speaking. However, he pretended to bear it with great calmness, and affecting to appear humane and polite, he gave his hand to the elder Aratus, and leading him out of the theatre, carried him with him to Ithome, to sacrifice there to Jupiter, and take a view of the place; for that post is as strong as the citadel of Corinth, and with a good garrison can command and annoy the neighbouring country, and is almost impregnable. Philip therefore

fore went up into this castle, and offered sacrifice; and when the priest presented him with the entrails of the ox, he took them in both his hands, and showed them to Demetrius of Phariæ; and Aratus, asking first one, and then the other, *what they judged by the tokens in the sacrifice it was best for him to do with the fort, whether to keep it for himself, or restore it to the Messenians*; Demetrius smiling, answered him, *If you have in you the soul of a priest, you will restore it; but if of a prince, you will hold the ox by both the horns.* By which he meant that Peloponnesus would be wholly at his mercy, if he added Ithome to the Acrocorinthus. Aratus stood silent a good while; but Philip entreating him to declare his opinion, he spoke thus: *There are many and great hills in Crete, many rocks in Bœotia and Phocis, and many impregnable places, both near the sea, and in the mid-land in Acarnania, none of which have you taken by main force, but they all pay you a voluntary obedience. It is for thieves to shelter themselves on rocks and precipices; but the strongest fort a king can have is justice, honour, and humanity. These qualities have opened to you the Cretan sea, these have made you master of Peloponnesus, and by the help of these, young as you are, you are become general of the one, and sovereign of the other.* While he was speaking, Philip returned the entrails to the priest, and taking Aratus by the hand, *Come on then,* said he, *let us go as we came*; as if he thought himself overpowered by him, and forced by his arguments to abandon the town.

From this time Aratus began to withdraw from court, and retired by degrees from Philip's company; for when he was preparing to march into Epirus, and desired Aratus to accompany him thither, he excused himself, and staid at home, apprehending that he should get nothing but discredit by Philip's actions. But afterwards when he had shamefully lost his fleet in his war against the Romans, and miscarried in all his designs, he returned into Peloponnesus,

Peloponnesus, where he endeavoured first to win the Messenians by his artifices; but his intentions being discovered, he had recourse to open hostilities, and plundered and ravaged their country; then Aratus became quite averse to him, and utterly renounced his friendship. By this time too he knew of the dishonour done to his son's bed, which, though it grieved him exceedingly, he concealed from his son, because he could only let him know he had been abused, but could not help him to the means of revenge; for strange and unaccountable was the change made in Philip, who, of a mild king and a temperate youth, became a lascivious man and a cruel tyrant. But this was not so much a real change in his nature as a discovery of his vicious inclinations, which fear had obliged him to keep concealed at first, and to which at last he gave full scope when he thought himself in a condition to indulge them securely. For that his former regard for Aratus had a great mixture of fear and awe, appears evidently from what he did to him at last. For being desirous to put him to death, (not thinking himself free, much less a king or tyrant, whilst he was alive), and not daring to attempt it by open force, he commanded Taurion, an officer in his army, and one of his familiar friends, to destroy him secretly during his absence, and if possible to do it by poison. Taurion therefore contracted a friendship with Aratus, and gave him a dose, not of a quick and violent poison, but of such an one as causes gentle heats and a slight cough, and so by degrees wastes and destroys the body. Aratus perceived what was done to him, but knowing that it was to no purpose to complain, he bore it patiently and in silence, as if it had been some common and usual distemper. Only once whilst a friend of his was with him in his chamber, he happening to spit some blood, and his friend observing and wonder-
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ing at it, he said, *These, O Cephalon, are the rewards which the friendship of a king bestows.*

Thus he died in Ægium in his seventeenth generalship. The Achæans were very desirous that he should be buried there, with a funeral and monument suitable to the glory of his actions; but the Sicyonians thinking it would be a dishonour to them if he were interred any where but in their city, prevailed with the Achæans to grant them the disposal of the body. But there being an ancient law forbidding any person to be buried within the walls of their city, which law had been constantly observed with a superstitious punctuality, they sent to Delphi to consult the priestess of Apollo, who returned them this oracle:

*Thou, Sicyon, ask'st if 'tis allow'd to raise
A monument to great Aratus' praise,
To grace with solemn obsequies his urn,
For sacred freedom giv'n the due return;
These honours who ungratefully denies,
Abhorr'd be he in earth, and seas, and skies.*

When this oracle was known, the whole body of the Achæans rejoiced much at it, but especially the Sicyonians, who changing their mourning into public joy, immediately removed the body from Ægium, and in a solemn procession brought it into the city, with songs and dances, crowned with garlands, and dressed in white garments. As soon as they were arrived, they made choice of the most conspicuous place, interred him there, considering him as the founder and preserver of their city. The place is to this day called *Aratium*; and there they yearly offer two sacrifices to him, the one on the day he delivered the city from tyranny, being the fifth day of the month Dæsius, which the Athenians call *Anthesterion* [February]; and this sacrifice they call *Soteria*; the other is offered on his birthday. The first of these used to be performed by the priest of
Jupiter

Jupiter Soter, the second by the priest of Aratus, wearing a linen girdle, the colour of which is not a pure white, but white mingled with purple. The hymns were sung to the harp by the singers belonging to the theatre; the procession was led up by the master of the gymnasium, with the boys and young men; these were followed by the senate wearing garlands, and as many citizens as pleased to attend. Some traces of these ceremonies remain to this day; but the greatest part of them have through time, and other intervening accidents, been disused.

Such, as history tells, was the life and character of the elder Aratus. And as to the younger, Philip, who by nature was detestably wicked, and extravagantly insolent and cruel, gave him poisons, which, though they did not kill him directly, deprived him of his reason, and excited in him such monstrous and unnatural desires, and prompted him to such extravagant and abominable actions, as were not only in the highest degree shameful, but absolutely destructive; so that though he was young, and in the flower of his age, his death could not be looked upon as a misfortune, but rather as a deliverance from his misery. But Philip paid dearly, all the rest of his life, for these violations of friendship and hospitality; for being overcome by the Romans he submitted to their mercy. By them he was deprived of most of his dominions, and obliged to surrender all his ships but five, to pay a fine of a thousand talents, and to give up his son for an hostage. Out of pure compassion they left to him Macedonia and its dependencies; where continually putting to death the noblest of his subjects, and the nearest relations he had, he filled the whole kingdom with horror and detestation of him. The only comfort left him among so many disasters was a son, remarkable for his virtue; but him he

put to death from envy of the great honours he received from the Romans, and left his kingdom to his other son Perseus, who, as some say, was not legitimate, but born of a sempstress called *Gnathæ-nium*. This was he whom Paulus Æmilius led in triumph, and in whom ended the royal race of Antigonus. But the posterity of Aratus continues still in our days at Sicyon and Pellene.

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IPhicrates, general of the Athenians, supposed that a soldier of fortune ought to be covetous and sensual, that he may engage in bold adventures, in order to obtain the means of gratifying his appetites; but it is the most common opinion, that the body of an army, as well as the natural body, (though ever so strong), should make no efforts apart, but move only by the direction of the head. Wherefore they tell us, that Paulus Æmilius, when he took upon him the command of the army in Macedonia, finding the soldiers talkative, and impertinently busy, as though they were all commanders, gave orders that they should have only ready hands, and keen swords, and leave the rest to his care and conduct. But Plato observing that nothing succeeded well even under the best general, unless the army was also sober and tractable, thought that to know how to obey as well as how to command required a generous nature and philosophical education; these being necessary to temper the violence and impetuosity of the mind with obsequiousness and humanity. And indeed among many

* Some conjecture that this and the following life were not written by Plutarch.

other instances, the misfortunes that happened to the Romans after the death of Nero, are plain proofs, that nothing is more dangerous than a military power unskilfully managed, and not kept under proper control by their leaders. Therefore Demades, after the death of Alexander, seeing the many extravagant and disorderly motions of the Macedonian army, compared it to the Cyclops Polyphemus, after his eye was out. But the Roman empire fell into all the mad convulsive motions of the Titans, such as they are represented to us by the poets, being broken in pieces by rebellion, and turning her arms into her own bowels, not so much by the ambition of the emperors, as the covetousness and extravagancy of the soldiers, which made them thrust out one after another for their own advantage *.

Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, speaking of Alexander Pheræus, who was murdered after he had reigned in Thessaly for the space of ten months only, called him, in derision of his sudden change, *the tyrant of a tragedy*. But the palace of the Cæsars in Rome had no less than four emperors in a shorter space, one making his *exit* and another entering, as if they had indeed been actors on a theatre. It is true, that the Romans, amidst all their sufferings, had at least this consolation, that they wanted no other vengeance upon the authors of their miseries than what they executed upon one another, and that he fell the first, as he well deserved, who first seduced the soldiers, encouraged them by his promises to hope for great advantages from a change, and disgraced an action so glorious in itself, as was the revolt against Nero, and debased it into treason by rendering it mercenary. For

* This is a lively image, and exact to the purpose. Tacitus in the first book of his history gives us an admirable description of the state of the Roman empire at that time, and of the extravagant commotions with which it was agitated.

Nymphidius Sabinus, who, as we have observed before *, was joined in commission with Tigillinus, as captain of the prætorian cohorts, observing the affairs of Nero to be in a desperate condition, and that Nero himself was upon the point of flying into Egypt, persuaded the army to declare Galba emperor, as if Nero had already abdicated, and promised every soldier of the prætorian cohorts seven thousand five hundred drachmas, and to every soldier of the armies that lay quartered up and down in the provinces twelve hundred and fifty; which amounted to a sum so immense, that it would have been impossible to have raised it, without oppressing the people infinitely more than even Nero had done. This presently destroyed Nero, and soon after Galba too. They murdered the first, in expectation of the promised sum; and not long after the other, because he did not make good what had been promised to them. Thus whilst they were in search after a man who would give them as much as they had been made to expect, they consumed and destroyed themselves by their rebellions and treasons, without obtaining what they hoped for. But to relate in order every particular incident, is the business of a person who is writing a complete history; it is however incumbent upon me to lay before the reader some of the most remarkable circumstances that occur in the lives of the Cæsars.

It is confessed by all, that Sulpitius Galba was the richest private man that ever rose to the imperial dignity. And though he was of very noble extraction, being descended from the family of the Servii, yet he valued himself much more upon his relation to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, who was the first man in his time for virtue and reputation,

* We find no mention of it in any of his writings that remain. Without doubt it was in the life of Nero, which was written by Plutarch, and is now lost.

though he voluntarily resigned to others the first rank in power and authority,

Galba was somewhat related to Livia the wife of Augustus, by whose interest he was preferred from the office he held in the palace to the dignity of consul. It is said of him, that he honourably discharged his command in Germany, and being made proconsul of Libya, he distinguished himself even among those who had gained the greatest reputation in that province. But his narrow parsimonious way of living, and his aversion to all superfluity and excess, was censured as avarice when he became emperor, and the pride he took in his temperance and œconomy was then esteemed unseasonable. He was intrusted by Nero with the government of Spain, before that prince had learned to stand in fear of those citizens who had the greatest power and authority. And as Galba appeared naturally to be of a mild temper, it was expected from his age that he would distinguish himself no less by his judgment and prudence.

The emperor's officers *, a most pernicious set of men, oppressed the provinces with the utmost cruelty. It was not in Galba's power to relieve them; but he gave them manifest tokens of his tender concern for their sufferings, which was some sort of consolation to them, even when they were condemned, and sold for slaves. At that time there were some satirical songs made against Nero, which were dispersed about and sung every where; but Galba took no care to suppress them, or prosecute the authors and promoters of them, which those officers did with great severity. This made him still more beloved by the natives, with some of whom he had contracted a friendship and familiarity during the time of his government among them, which held for eight years, till Junius Vindex,

* These were called *procuratores principis*, officers sent by the emperors into the several provinces to collect the tribute.

who

who commanded in Gaul, revolted against Nero. We are told, that before the design openly appeared, Vindex communicated it to Galba, who neither countenanced nor discovered it, as several of the governours in the other provinces did, who immediately sent to Nero the letters they had received from Vindex, and thus to the utmost of their power ruined the whole undertaking; and as they themselves were afterwards accomplices in it, they were forced to confess that they had betrayed themselves as well as Vindex. But when Vindex had openly declared war against Nero, he wrote once more to Galba, and exhorted him *to take the government upon him, and place himself at the head of the Gauls, who wanted a leader, and were already a body of a hundred thousand armed men, and were able to raise a greater force upon occasion.* Galba called a council of his friends, to advise with them upon this proposal. Some of them were of opinion that he ought to wait, and see how Rome stood inclined towards a change. But Titus Vinius, captain of one of the prætorian cohorts, stood up, and said, *What room is there here for deliberation? To question whether we shall remain faithful to Nero, is to rebel against him. Since he therefore is now to be considered as an enemy, you must either embrace the proposition of Vindex, or else accuse him immediately, and march to suppress him, because he had rather have Galba for emperor of the Romans, than Nero for their tyrant.* Upon this Galba by an edict appointed a certain day for enfranchising all those who requested it. The rumour of this publication soon brought together a great croud of men strongly inclined to revolt; and he could scarce mount the tribunal before he was with an universal acclamation saluted emperor. He refused to take the title upon him at first; but after he had bitterly inveighed against Nero, and particularly lamented the loss of the most considerable of those who had been destroyed by him, he declared,

declared, *that he devoted himself to the service of his country, not as Cæsar, or emperor, but only as lieutenant to the senate and people.*

That Vindex acted wisely in inviting Galba to the empire, the behaviour of Nero himself was an evidence; for though he seemed to despise him, and to be in no degree apprehensive of the Gauls, yet when he heard of Galba's motions, of which he happened to receive intelligence just as he had bathed, and was sat down to supper, he in great fury overturned the table. But as soon as the senate had declared Galba an enemy to the state, he grew witty upon the subject, and with an air of confidence said to his friends, *This is what I wanted. I have been long at a loss for a pretence to raise money, and now I have it. I shall have no sooner conquered the Gauls, but all their wealth will be mine; in the mean time I will take possession of Galba's estate, since he is a declared enemy, and dispose of it as I think fit.* Accordingly he commanded it to be sold. When Galba was informed of this, he likewise exposed to sale Nero's estate in Spain, and found a greater number of buyers.

The number of those who revolted from Nero continually increased, and all declared for Galba, except Clodius Macer, who commanded in Africa, and Virginus Rufus general of the army in Germany, who acted separately, and with different views. Clodius, who was conscious of many enormities, and knew himself guilty of rapine and murder, to which his unbounded avarice and cruelty had prompted him, knew not what measures to take; wherefore in that uncertainty he neither would accept, nor reject the imperial title: and Virginus, who had under his command some of the best legions in the empire, and had been often pressed by them to take upon him the title of Emperor, declared, *that he would not only refuse it himself,*

himself, but suffer no one else to assume it, who was not elected to it by the senate.

These things at first exceedingly perplexed Galba; but after the two armies of Virginus and Vindex had forced their chiefs, like two charioteers who have no longer the reins at their command, to come to a battle, and Vindex after the loss of twenty thousand Gauls, who were killed upon the spot, had laid violent hands on himself, it was reported that the victorious army importuned Virginus to accept of the empire, threatening in case of a refusal to return to Nero. Galba, being terribly alarmed at this report, wrote to him, exhorting him to join with him for the preservation of the empire, and the liberty of the Romans. At the same time he retired with his friends to a city in Spain called *Colonia*, where he resided for some time, rather repenting of what he had already done, and desiring a life of ease and privacy, to which he had been accustomed, than considering what was fit to be done for the future. It was now the summer-season, when one day one of his freedmen, named *Icelus*, arrived in seven days from Rome at *Colonia*; and learning at his arrival where Galba was reposing himself, he went up to the room, opened the door, and entering in spite of the attendants, who would have opposed him, he told Galba, *that some time before, though Nero was then living, yet as he did not appear, first the army, and after them the senate and the people, had declared him emperor, and that soon after the news was current of the tyrant's death. He added, that he would not trust to common report, but went himself to be a witness of it, and when he had seen his dead body extended on the ground, he hastened away to bring him an account of it.*

Galba was extremely revived at this intelligence. At the same time his door was crowded with a number of people, who were greatly encouraged by the account he gave them, though the expedition used
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by the messenger seemed almost incredible. But two days after Titus Vinius arrived with several others from the camp, and gave him a particular account of the proceedings of the senate. For this good news, Titus was advanced to a very honourable employment *, his freedman was allowed the privilege of wearing the gold ring, was named *Marcianus*, instead of *Icelus*, and had more credit and authority with Galba than any of his freedmen.

In the mean time Nymphidius Sabinus usurped all the authority at Rome, not leisurely and by degrees, but all on a sudden, looking on Galba as an infirm man, who by reason of his great age (for he was seventy-three years old) was unable to support a journey to Rome, though he were carried in a litter. Besides, the soldiers who were there had long been well affected to him, and now especially they were at his back, looking on him as their benefactor, by reason of the immense sums he had given them, whilst they considered Galba only as their debtor. In the first place, he commanded Tigellinus, who was joined in command with him, to lay down his office. After this he made several magnificent entertainments for those who had been consuls, or had commanded in the army, who were all invited in the name of Galba. At the same time he instructed many of the soldiers to say that a petition should be sent to Galba, to appoint Nymphidius perpetual and sole commander. But the respect that the senate paid him, styling him their benefactor, attending daily at his gates, and giving

* He was of a prætorian family, and passed through all the offices without blemish. Upon the expiration of his prætorship he was made tribune of a legion, and served honourably. He was afterwards made governour of Gallia Narbonensis, in which province he behaved with great justice and integrity. But at last becoming a favourite of Galba and one of his first ministers, he made an ill use of his authority, and exposed his master to the hatred and contempt of the people. He was slain immediately after Galba. *Tacit. hist. lib. 1.*

him the compliment of confirming their acts, raised him to a greater degree of arrogance, so that in a short time he was not only envied, but even dreaded by those who were most attached to him. Once when the consuls had made use of the state-messengers to convey the decrees of the senate to the emperor, and had sealed the dispatches with their own signets, upon sight of which the magistrates in the several towns through which they were to pass were obliged to furnish them with carriages at every different stage for the greater expedition, he highly resented it, because his seal was not made use of, and none of his soldiers employed in the service. Nay, it is said, that he once thought of punishing the consuls for that affront, but upon their apology and submission he was appeased. To ingratiate himself with the people, he suffered them to put to death in the cruellest manner as many of Nero's party as fell into their hands. Among others, they fastened Spicilius a gladiator under Nero's statues, which they dragged along the streets, and crushed him to pieces in the Forum. They laid a celebrated informer named *Aponius* flat on the ground, and drove carts loaded with stones over him. Many others they seized, and tore in pieces, among whom were several who were innocent. Insomuch that Mauriscus, who was deservedly esteemed one of the best men in the city, declared in the senate, *that he was afraid they should soon have cause to wish for Nero.*

Thus Nymphidius advancing every day nearer to the completion of his hopes, suffered it to be reported that he was the son of Caius Cæsar, who succeeded Tiberius. For that prince in his youth had some correspondence with the mother of Nymphidius, a woman beautiful enough, the daughter of Callistus, Cæsar's freedman, by a sempstress. But it is evident that Cæsar's commerce with his mother was later than the birth of Nymphidius ;
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it is more likely that he was the son of a gladiator named *Martianus*, with whom his mother *Nymphidia* was enamoured on account of his great reputation; and the resemblance there was between him and that gladiator is a strong proof of that conjecture. However he acknowledged that he was the son of *Nymphidia*; and valuing himself as the only author of *Nero's* death, he did not think he was sufficiently rewarded by the honours and wealth he enjoyed, nor even by having *Sporus* for his bedfellow, the favourite of *Nero*, whom he took from the funeral pile whilst his master's corpse was burning, treated as his wife, and called *Poppæa* *; but he aspired to the empire also, and at Rome was assisted in carrying on his design by his friends, by certain women, and by some persons of senatorial dignity whom he had privately won over to his interest. He likewise sent one of his friends named *Gellianus* into Spain, to be a spy upon *Galba*, and send him an account of affairs there.

But every thing succeeded to *Galba's* wish after the death of *Nero*; only *Virginus Rufus*, remaining undetermined gave him some uneasiness. He was afraid lest being at the head of so powerful an army, having acquired great honour by the defeat of *Vindex*, and having added to his command the province of *Gaul*, which was so considerable a part of the Roman empire, and was then fluctuating, and ripe for a revolt, he might give ear to those who invited him to the empire. For no man had a greater name and reputation than *Virginus*, no man had had a greater share in those revolutions, or contributed so much to deliver the Romans from a cruel tyranny, and at the same time preserve them from a Gallic war. But he continuing firm to his first resolutions, reserved to the senate the power of electing an emperor; and even after there was a

* *Nero* called him *Sabina*.

certainty in the army of the death of Nero, though the foldiers crouded about him, and pressed him to assume the title, though one of the tribunes came into his tent with his sword drawn, requiring him to receive that, or the empire, he still persisted in a denial.

But as soon as Fabius Valens, who commanded one of the legions, had taken the oath of fidelity to Galba, and they had received letters from Rome, containing an account of the resolutions of the senate, he prevailed on the army, though with great difficulty, to acknowledge Galba for emperor. And Galba having soon after sent Flaccus Hordeonius to succeed him in the command, he received him, and resigned the army to him. He then went to meet Galba, and attended on him in his journey to Rome, without receiving from him the least mark either of respect or resentment. Galba did not show him any marks of resentment, because he had a great esteem for him; nor on the contrary did he pay him any honour, because he was diverted from it by his friends, especially by Titus Vinius, who was jealous of him, and endeavoured to put a stop to his promotion. And in this he was more his friend than he intended and contributed to that happiness which he thought he was opposing. For by keeping him out of the way of preferment, he preserved him from all the contentions and calamities in which the other officers of the army were afterwards involved, and secured to him a quiet life, and a peaceful old age.

The ambassadors sent to Galba from the senate met him near Narbo, a city in Gaul, where they paid their compliments to him, and besought him to make what haste he could to show himself to the people, who impatiently longed for his presence. Galba received them very graciously, discoursed to them with great openness and familiarity, and invited them to an entertainment; where though Nym-

phidius had sent him a great deal of rich furniture, which belonged to Nero, he never used any of it, but contented himself with his own, wherein he appeared truly great, and showed that he had a mind superiour to all those vanities. But Titus Vinus soon made him believe that this magnanimity, modesty, and simplicity, betrayed an ambition of popularity beneath his grandeur and dignity, and persuaded him to make use of Nero's riches, without denying himself any thing that might serve to make his entertainments appear truly royal and magnificent; so that the old man soon made it evident that he was entirely governed by Vinus.

Vinus was the most covetous of all men, and very much addicted to women. For when he was but young, and was making his first campaign under Calvisius Sabinus, he one night brought into the camp disguised in a soldier's habit his general's own wife, a very lewd woman, and lay with her in that part of the camp which the Romans call *Principia* *. For this action he was imprisoned by Caius Cæsar, but was fortunately delivered by his death. Being one night invited to supper by the emperor Claudius, he stole a silver cup; when the emperor came to be informed of it, he sent to invite him to supper the next day, and commanded the officers who waited at the table to serve Vinus in nothing but earthen ware; showing by this mild and pleasant reproof, that he thought the fact deserved to be laughed at, rather than punished. But the robberies he committed afterwards, when he governed Galba as he pleased, were the real cause of many tragical events, and afforded a pretence for more. For when Nymphidius was informed by Gellianus, upon his return out of Spain, whi-

* This action, exceedingly insolent and shameful in itself, was still aggravated by the place where it was committed, for that part of the camp was held sacred. There the ensigns were kept, and there likewise were the altars of their gods.

ther he had sent him as a spy upon Galba, that Cornelius Laco was declared captain of the prætorian band, and Vinius was chief favourite at court, and that he could find no opportunity to get near the emperor, and discourse with him in private, being continually watched and suspected, he found himself under the greatest perplexity; and summoning all the officers of the prætorian cohorts, he told them, *that Galba of himself was an honest harmless old man, but that he did not make use of his own reason, but suffered himself to be guided by Vinius and Laco, who made an ill use of the power they had over him; that they ought therefore, without giving them time gradually to establish themselves, and acquire the same power and authority which had been usurped by Tigellinus, to send ambassadors to the emperor, in the name of the whole army, and remonstrate to him that if he only removed those two from his service, his presence would be much more acceptable to the Romans, than if he continued them near his person.* But when he saw the officers did not relish the motion, but that on the contrary they thought it strange and absurd to prescribe rules to an emperor of his age and experience, as if he had been a boy newly advanced to power, and to tell him who of his friends were to be trusted, and who to be discarded, he changed his measures. He wrote to Galba, to terrify him, telling him sometimes that the city was in a very unsettled condition, and that there was danger of a revolt; at others, that Clodius Macer detained the corn-ships in Africa; sometimes that the armies in Germany were mutinying; and at others, that the troops in Syria and Judæa were in the same disposition. But when he found that Galba slighted this intelligence, and gave no credit to what he had written, he resolved to be beforehand with him, and seize the imperial dignity to himself, contrary to all the remonstrances that were made him by Clodius Celsus of Antioch, a man of good understanding, and his

intimate friend, who continually represented to him that there was not one family in Rome, who would ever be brought to give Nymphidius the title of Cæsar. Notwithstanding this, most people despised and derided Galba, and among the rest Mithridates of Pontus, who making himself merry with his withered face and bald head, said, *At present whilst he is at some distance, the Romans entertain mighty expectations of him, but the moment he arrives, and they cast their eyes upon him, they will own it a scandal and disgrace to the present age that ever he was named Cæsar.*

At last it was resolved to convey Nymphidius by night into the camp, and there proclaim him emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, the first of the tribunes, assembling in the evening the soldiers under his command, condemned himself, and condemned them, for having in so short a time changed so often, not from any dictates of reason, or a regard to what was best, but because they were agitated by some evil genius, which hurried them on from one treason to another; he told them, that indeed there was some pretence for what they had done against Nero, who had provoked them to it by his cruelty and tyranny; *But now, said he, what is it prompts you to abandon and betray Galba? Can you reproach him with the murder of his wife and mother? Did he ever disgrace the imperial dignity by exposing himself as an actor on the stage? Yet, notwithstanding all the provocations he had given us, we thought it not fit to abandon him till we were persuaded by Nymphidius that he had abandoned us first, and was fled into Egypt. Must Galba then fall a victim to appease the ghost of Nero? Must we remove one of Livia's family, as we have already cut off the son of Agrippina, on purpose to make way for the son of Nymphidia? Shall we not rather punish him for his crimes, and thus show ourselves the avengers of Nero, and the faithful soldiers of Galba?*

This discourse of the tribune brought all that
heard

heard him over to his sentiments, so that they immediately went to their companions, and exhorting them to maintain inviolable the oath they had taken to the emperor, persuaded a great number to join with them. At the same time Nymphidius hearing a loud shout, and either imagining, as some conceive, that he was then called upon to be proclaimed emperor, or else being willing to prevent an insurrection, and fix those who might still be wavering, hastened thither attended by a great number of lights, and holding a speech in his hand, composed by Cingonius Varro, which he had got by heart, in order to pronounce it to the army. But when he found the gates of the camp shut against him, and observed the walls manned with armed soldiers, he began to be afraid; however advancing nearer, he asked them, *What they were about, and by whose direction they were thus in arms?* They answered one and all, *We acknowledge no other person for emperor but Galba.* He pretending to be of the same sentiment commended them for their fidelity, and commanded those who accompanied him to follow his example.

They who were posted at the gates admitted him and some few of his followers into the camp, where immediately a dart was thrown at him, which Septimius, who was marching before him, received on his shield. But when several others began to attack him with their drawn swords, he betook himself to flight, and was followed into a soldier's hut, where they murdered him. His body was dragged into the middle of the camp, where they railed it round, and exposed it to public view the next morning.

Nymphidius being in this manner removed, Galba, as soon as he was informed of it, commanded all his accomplices, who had not prevented him by killing themselves, to be put to death. Among those was Cingonius Varro, who had composed his

speech for him, and Mithridates of Pontus. But this proceeding seemed to be arbitrary and illegal; and though they deserved their punishment, yet was it by no means popular, to put to death men of their rank without a trial. Every one expected another method of government, being deceived, as it is usual, by the first plausible pretences; but that which concerned them more than all the rest was the death of Petronius Turpilianus, a person of consular dignity, who had been faithful to Nero. Indeed there was some pretence for the death of Macro, who was slain in Africa by Trebonianus; and for that of Fonteius Capito, who fell by the hands of Valens in Germany, because they were in arms, at the head of legions, and might for that reason be dangerous. But a man in Turpilianus's circumstances, broken with age, naked and defenceless, might surely have expected to have been heard by a prince who resolved to observe that moderation in his actions, which he had promised in his speeches. These things brought a great reproach upon Galba.

When he was come within five and twenty furlongs of the city he was accosted by a disorderly rabble of seamen, who beset him in his passage. These men had been inrolled in the army by Nero, and formed into a legion. And now they addressed themselves to Galba, requiring to have their establishment confirmed, stopping up the way from all others who came to wait upon the emperor, not suffering them to approach his person, to see him or speak with him, and in a clamorous manner insisted upon having colours and legionary quarters assigned to them. Galba put them off to another time; which they taking for a denial grew enraged, and mutinous, and some of them drew their swords, upon which Galba commanded the horse to attack them. They made no resistance, but were routed at the first onset, and many of them

were

were killed in their flight. This could not but be looked upon as an ill omen for Galba, who thus made his entrance into the city through so much blood and slaughter. And if he was before condemned for his age and infirmities by some, he was now looked upon by all with fear and horror.

Being desirous to reform the extravagance in donations that prevailed during the reign of Nero, he ran into the other extreme, and fell short even of propriety and decency. When Canus, an excellent musician, had entertained him once all supper-time with his flute, and he could not but highly commend the excellence of the performance, he sent for his purse, and gave him a few pieces of gold *, telling him, that he made him that present out of his own money, and not out of that of the public. He caused a strict inquiry to be made into all the money Nero had lavishly bestowed upon players and wrestlers, and resumed it, suffering them to enjoy only a tenth. But as they were a dissolute set of people, living only from day to day, most of them had spent all their money, so that he was no great gainer by that resumption; wherefore he extended his inquiry even to those who had trafficked with them, and bought or received any thing from them, and forced them to refund. And as this was an affair without bounds, and many were affected by it; it brought great disgrace upon the emperor, and universal hatred and resentment upon Vinius. For it was evident that he made the emperor fordid and avaricious to others, that he might gratify his own insatiable avarice by getting every thing into his hands, and

* Suetonius in his account of this piece of history, says, that Galba gave him five denarii. *Cano autum choraulæ mire placenti, denarios quinque donasse, prolatos manu sua peculiaribus oculis.* But in Nero's time there were denarii of gold, each of which was worth about a pound Sterling.

putting it up to sale. In short, according to Hesiod's precept,

*From the full cask with freedom quench your thirst,
When little's left drink freely as at first,*

Vinius being sensible that the emperor was old and feeble, determined to make the utmost advantage of his fortune, which he beheld in the same instant both rising and falling.

But the aged emperor was very much injured by Vinius, who managed very unfaithfully the affairs committed to him, and either condemned or defeated Galba's best intentions, particularly in the punishment of those who had been employed by Nero in the administration. The emperor had caused several of those miscreants to be put to death as they deserved, among whom were Elius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobis. The people clapped their hands when they saw them led through the forum to the place of execution, crying out that it was a most glorious and sacred procession; but then they added, that both gods and men demanded that Nero's instructor and preceptor in tyranny, Tigellinus, should be punished. But that worthy minister had been beforehand with them; he had purchased the favour of Vinius by large sums of money, which yet were only pledges of more substantial acknowledgments. Turpilianus, who was hated only because he could neither hate nor betray so wicked a master, without having been guilty of any notorious injustice, or having shared in the crimes of Nero, was nevertheless put to death; whereas he, who first plunged his prince into that guilt for which he deserved to die, and afterwards forsook and betrayed him, was suffered to live, and to afford a strong proof that every thing might be bought of Vinius, and that no man had reason to despair whilst he had money to give him. For there was nothing the people of Rome
so

so passionately desired as to behold Tigellinus led to execution. It was what they daily insisted upon in the theatre and Circus; which at last constrained the emperor to check them by the publication of an edict, wherein he assured them that Tigellinus could not live long, being much wasted with a consumption, and desired *that they would not make his government appear cruel and tyrannical.*

This proceeding very much displeased the people, who were only laughed at, both by Tigellinus, who offered a sacrifice to the gods for his deliverance, and made a magnificent entertainment, and by Vinius, who when he had supped with the emperor went to revel with Tigellinus, carrying with him his daughter, who was then a widow. Tigellinus drank to her, and at the same time made her a present of two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas; and commanding the chief of his concubines to take from her own neck a necklace valued at a hundred and fifty thousand more, he ordered her to present that likewise to the widow.

From that time every thing the emperor did, though ever so mild and moderate, was condemned and censured; thus, for instance, his lenity to the Gauls, who had been in the conspiracy with Vindex, was misrepresented; for the people supposed that they were made free of the city, and discharged of their taxes, not from the clemency of the emperor, but because they had purchased these privileges at a high rate of Vinius. Hence the government became odious to the common people. But the foldiers were kept quiet a while, in expectation of the donative which had been promised them, supposing that if they did not receive the full, yet at least they should receive as much as had been given them by Nero; but when Galba was told that they began to murmur and complain, he replied, in a manner worthy of an heroic prince, *that his custom was to chuse, and not buy*

buy his soldiers. This saying made them conceive an implacable hatred against him; for they considered him as not only defrauding them himself, but as giving an ill precedent to his successor.

There was a tendency to a revolt among the prætorian bands at Rome; but the reverence they bore Galba, who was present among them, somewhat retarded their motions, and abated their vehemence; and finding no sufficient ground for rebellion, they curbed their discontents for the present. But the armies which had served formerly under Verginius, and were then commanded by Flaccus in Germany, valuing themselves highly upon their late victory over Vindex, for which they had received no recompense, would not be restrained by their officers, nor pay any respect to the general himself, who was rendered infirm by the gout, and was at the best a person of no great experience in military affairs. At one of their festivals, when it was customary for the officers of the army to wish happiness to the emperor, the common soldiers began to clamour; but when the officers repeated their good wishes, they all replied, *If he be worthy.*

The legions under the command of Tigellinus were guilty of the like insolence, of which Galba was fully informed by his procurators; whereupon suspecting that he might be despised, not only for his old age, but also for want of issue, he determined to adopt some young man of quality, and declare him his successor.

There was at that time in Rome a young man called *Otho*, a person of no mean extraction; but who from his infancy had been remarkably distinguished among the Romans for luxury and debauchery. And as Homer often calls Paris, *fair Helen's husband*, because he had nothing in himself to recommend him, so was Otho talked of at Rome chiefly for being the husband of Poppæa. Nero fell

fell in love with her whilst she was the wife of Crispinus; but having not then thrown off all the respect due to his own consort, and being under some fear of offending his mother, he concealed his passion, and engaged Otho privately to solicit her in his behalf. For Otho's debauchery had recommended him to Nero, who used to take great pleasure in being rallied by him upon his niggardliness and avarice.

We are told that one day when Nero was perfuming himself with an essence of extraordinary value, he sprinkled a little of it upon Otho. The next day Otho invited the emperor to supper, and as soon as he entered, some gold and silver pipes prepared for that purpose, dispersed an essence of the same sort throughout the whole room, as if it had been water. Having therefore first debauched Poppæa in the name of Nero, by making her hope to have that prince for her lover, he at last persuaded her to part with her husband, and took her home as his own wife. But he was not so happy that he enjoyed her, as he was uneasy at his sharing her with a rival. It is said Poppæa was so far from being displeased at this jealousy in Otho, that she refused even to admit Nero when Otho was absent; whether it was with a design to keep Nero's appetite keen, which might have been blunted by too easy an access, or whether, as some say, she had no inclination for Nero as a husband, but chose rather to have him as a gallant, which quality was most agreeable to her wanton appetite. Otho's life was in great danger upon his marrying this woman; and it was something astonishing, that Nero, who had sacrificed his wife and sister for the sake of Poppæa, would yet spare Otho. But Seneca had a friendship for Otho, and it was he who prevailed with Nero to send him as prætor into Lusitania, upon the borders of the ocean, where he behaved with so much prudence and moderation, that he
was

was neither oppressive nor disagreeable to the inhabitants; for he was sensible that this command was conferred upon him only as a more honourable exile*.

Upon Galba's revolt from Nero, he was the first of all the governours in the provinces who declared for him, and taking with him all the plate he had, whether of gold or silver, he presented it to him, in order to have it coined for his service. At the same time he made him a present of such of his servants as were best qualified to manage the table of a prince. In every thing else he acted with great fidelity to Galba, and soon made it appear that no one about him had more experience, or was more fit to serve him in the administration. He accompanied him during the whole journey to Rome, travelling with him sometimes in the same chariot for many days together; in all which time he made his court to Vinus, recommending himself to him by his conversation and presents, but by nothing more than in yielding to him the first degree in his prince's favour; by which means he himself obtained the second, with this advantage over Vinus, that he was neither envied nor hated by any man, but bestowed his favours freely and gratuitously, and was affable and easy of access to all who had any business with him. But he showed a peculiar regard for the officers in the army, many of whom he got preferred to the highest posts, some by the emperor himself, and the rest by the means of Vinus, and Galba's freedmen, Icelus and Asiaticus; for they were the persons of the greatest credit and authority in the court. As often as he entertained Galba at his own house, he insinuated himself into the favour of the cohort upon guard,

* On this occasion the following distich was made:

*Cur Otba mentito si quæritis exul honore?
Uxoris mæchus cæperat esse suæ.*

by presenting every soldier with a piece of gold. Thus, under a pretence of doing honour to his prince by these donations, he circumvented him, and established his own interest in the prætorian bands.

Whilst Galba was deliberating upon the choice of a successor, Vinus proposed Otho; which he did for his own interest, because Otho had promised to marry his daughter whenever he should be adopted by Galba, and declared his successor. But Galba, who constantly showed that he preferred the good of the public to his own private views and inclinations, desired to adopt not the person who was most agreeable to himself, but such a one as was likely to be most serviceable to the Romans. Besides, it is very plain that he had no thoughts of declaring Otho sole heir to his paternal estate; for he knew him to be dissolute and extravagant, and so deeply in debt, that he owed no less than fifty millions of drachmas. Wherefore, after having given Vinus a favourable hearing, without returning any decisive answer, he referred the further consideration of the affair to another time. He nominated himself and Vinus consuls for the year ensuing. It was generally believed, that he would appoint a successor in the beginning of the year; and the soldiers earnestly wished that Otho might be preferred to all others.

But whilst Galba was deliberating upon the choice he was to make, and put off the determination from day to day, he received intelligence that the German forces had mutinied. It is true that all the soldiers throughout the empire had an aversion to Galba, because they had not received the donatives that had been promised them; but the troops in Germany urged further in their justification, *that Verginius Rufus had been removed with disgrace; that the Gauls, who had fought against them, were the only people who were rewarded; that all those*

who had not declared for Vindex had been punished ; and that Vindex only was the person to whom Galba seemed to profess any obligation, continuing to honour his memory with funeral oblations, and other public solemnities, as if he owed the empire to Vindex alone.

Whilst these discourses were held with impunity throughout the camp, on the first day of the year, called by the Romans *the calends of January*, Flaccus summoned the army to appear according to custom, and take the anniversary oath of fidelity to the emperor ; but they, having first thrown down and broken the statues of Galba, instead of taking the oath to the emperor, swore to be faithful to the senate and people, and then retired. Their officers dreading anarchy as much as rebellion, endeavoured to pacify them, and one of them delivered himself to them in the manner following : *What are we about, fellow-soldiers ? we are not appointing another emperor, though we are resolved not to retain him we have at present ; as if our intention was not so much to rescue ourselves from Galba, as to decline all subjection. As for Hordeonius Flaccus, who is merely a shadow and image of Galba, let us slight him as such. But Vitellius, commander of the lower Germany, whose father was censor, and thrice consul, and in a manner colleague in the empire with Claudius Cæsar, is but one day's march distant. The poverty of this man, for which he is reproached by some, is, however, a strong proof of his integrity and magnanimity. Let us, my fellow-soldiers, declare for him, and make it appear to the whole world that we know how to chuse an emperor better than either the Spaniards or Lusitanians.*

Whilst this motion was approved by some, and rejected by others, an ensign privately left the camp, and that very night went and carried an account of it to Vitellius, who received it while he was at table giving an entertainment to a great number of his officers. The news was soon spread through the whole army ; and Fabius Valens, who

who commanded one of the legions, went the next day at the head of a considerable body of horse, and saluted Vitellius emperor. He had some days before refused to accept of the empire, as a burden too weighty for him; but being now well filled with meat and wine, (having begun to eat and drink at noon), he came out, and accepted of the title of *Germanicus* conferred upon him by the troops. At the same time the soldiers under Flaccus, notwithstanding their professions of obedience to the senate, which favoured so strongly of democracy, took the oath of allegiance to Vitellius, and obliged themselves faithfully to obey his orders. In this manner was Vitellius proclaimed emperor in Germany.

When Galba came to be informed of this revolt, he no longer delayed to name a successor; and knowing that his friends were divided upon the point, that many of them were for Dolabella, but more for Otho, neither of whom he approved, all on a sudden, without communicating his design to any, he sent for Piso, the son of Crassus and Scribonia, who were slain by Nero, a youth formed by nature for every virtue, and distinguished by his temperance and severity of manners. Him Galba took immediately with him to the camp, named him *Cæsar*, and declared him his successor. But some remarkable prodigies accompanied him in his passage thither. And in the camp, just as he was beginning a speech to the soldiers, part of which he was to read, and the rest to repeat by heart, the frequent claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, the violent rain that fell, and the black clouds which covered both the camp and the city, were plain tokens that the heavens did not favour this adoption, and that it would prove unfortunate. The soldiers also, as appeared by their sullen looks, were angry and discontented, because no donation was made to them upon the occasion. Those who

were present, observed with admiration Piso's countenance and voice, who seemed not at all astonished, and yet not insensible of the greatness of the favour.

On the other hand, Otho appeared very much mortified and enraged at his disappointment; for his failing of that honour which was first solicited for him, and which he was near obtaining, seemed a proof of Galba's hatred and dislike to him. This made him very apprehensive of the consequence; and he went away agitated by a variety of passions, fear of Piso, hatred of Galba, and indignation against Vinus. But the Chaldeans and soothsayers about him would not permit him to despair, or quit his design; and he relied especially upon a prediction of Ptolemy, who had frequently told him formerly, that Nero should not murder him, but he himself should die first, and that Otho should not only survive him, but be in time advanced to the empire. Now the event having justified the first part of this prediction, he thought he ought not distrust the rest. But none exasperated him more than those who privately condoled with him for being so ungratefully treated by Galba; and the adherents of Nymphidius and Tigellinus, who were now deprived of the honours they had enjoyed, and lived in disgrace, seemed most of all to resent the indignity put upon him, and urged him to revenge it. In the number of these were Veturius, and Barcius, of whom the first was Optio, or centurion's deputy, and the other Tesserarius, that is, one of those inferiour officers who receive the word from the tribune taken down in writing, and carry it to the tents of the soldiers. Onomastus, one of Otho's freedmen, joined himself to them, and all three of them corrupted as many as they could, some by bribes, and some by promises of future rewards and advantages. They found it no difficult point to gain, so ripe
were

were they all in general for a revolt, waiting only for a fair opportunity to declare themselves. For if the army had not been very much disaffected, such a change could not have been so soon produced; for there was no more than the space of four days between the adoption and assassination, Piso and Galba being both murdered the sixth day after, which was the fifteenth of January. That day in the morning Galba offered a sacrifice in the palace, at which several of his friends assisted. Umbricius the diviner had no sooner taken the entrails of the victim into his hands, but he declared that the tokens did not obscurely and enigmatically, but clearly and positively, denounce that treason was a-foot, and the emperor threatened with some imminent danger. Thus Otho narrowly escaped being delivered up to Galba, as it were by the hand of the god; for he stood close behind the emperor, diligently listening to Umbricius's observations. He was very much disconcerted at the discovery, and frequently changed countenance; but Onomatius just then came and told him that the architects were at his house, and waited for him. This was the signal for him to meet the soldiers. He retired therefore, pretending to the emperor that he had been purchasing an old house, and was going to show the defects of it to some builders; and passing by that which was called the palace of Tiberius, he proceeded to the forum, near the gilded column where all the several highways in Italy terminate *. There the first party of the guards to whom he presented himself, received him, and proclaimed him emperor. It is said that they were not above three and twenty in all; and though he was not so timorous and effeminate as might reasonably

* This column was erected by Augustus at the entrance into the forum, when he was *curator viarum*, and had marked upon it all the highways in the several parts of Italy, with their distances distinguished by miles.

be expected from the delicacy of his constitution and his dissolute manner of life, but on the contrary resolute and determined in all hazardous adventures, yet he was so discouraged at the smallness of their number, that he desired to recede and drop his pretensions. This the soldiers would not suffer, but with their drawn swords surrounded the chair *, and commanded the bearers to march on ; at the same time he pressed them to make all the haste they could, crying out every moment, *I am a lost man*. This was overheard by many, who seemed rather to wonder than to be concerned when they saw how few they were who had engaged in so desperate an undertaking.

As they carried him across the forum, much such another party came up and joined him. These were followed by others, who came in, three and four at a time ; and at last drawing their swords, and saluting him Cæsar, they conducted him to the camp. Julius Martialis, who happened that day to be upon guard, and was not, as it is reported, let into the secret, surprised and terrified at an event so unexpected, suffered him to enter. When he was got into the camp, he met with no resistance ; for they who were strangers to the design being purposely encompassed by those who were the contrivers of it, and mingled by one and two together among them, followed the rest at first out of fear, and at last out of choice and by persuasion.

This news was soon carried to Galba in the palace, and he received it whilst Umbricius was still standing by him, and holding the entrails in his hand ; so that even they who were the most incredulous in matters of this nature, and despised the art of divination, were struck with astonishment at so clear and signal a presage. Immediately upon

* Suetonius says he hid himself in a woman's sedan. *Tunc abditus propere muliebri sella in castra contendit*. He calls it a woman's sedan, because it was close.

this report the people ran in great confusion from the forum to the palace, where Vinius, Laco, and some of Galba's freedmen stood with their swords drawn near his person, in readiness to protect him. Piso hastened to the lifeguard; and Marius Celsus, a person of great worth and bravery, was sent to secure the Illyrian cohort, which was stationed in the Vipsanian portico.

Galba was desirous to go out of the palace, and show himself to the people; but this was opposed by Vinius; and Celsus and Laco on the other hand encouraged him to go, and bitterly inveighed against Vinius. In the mean time it was rumoured that Otho was slain in the camp; and soon after Julius Atticus, a man of no mean rank among the guards, came running in, and proclaimed aloud, that *he was the man who had killed Cæsar's enemy*, and pressing through the croud presented himself with his bloody sword to the emperor. Galba looking earnestly upon him, asked him *who commanded him to do it?* He replied, *My fidelity and the oath I have taken.* Whereupon all the people cried out *it was bravely done*, and clapped their hands in token of approbation.

Soon after this Galba went forth in his chair, to offer a sacrifice to Jupiter, and show himself to the people; but he was scarce got into the forum before the wind, as it were, changed, and on a sudden it was reported, that Otho was become master of the camp and the army. Upon this, as it always happens in a confused multitude, some were for having Galba return, and others insisted that he should proceed; some encouraged him to be bold, and to fear nothing, whilst others advised him to be circumspect and wary. In this contest, as in a storm, his chair was borne sometimes one way and sometimes another; always in danger of being overturned; when on a sudden there appeared first a party of horse, and then another of foot, issuing from the
hall

hall of Paulus, and crying out with one voice, *Away with this private man.* On every side were to be seen people running, not dispersed through fear, but endeavouring to possess themselves of the porticoes, and other eminent places about the forum, as if some shows were to be exhibited. Attilius Vergilio having given the signal by throwing down the statues of Galba, they immediately fell to open hostilities, and a great number of darts were thrown at Galba's chair; but when they found that none of them had wounded him, they fell on him with their swords, whilst none appeared to defend him except one man; for among so many myriads the sun that day beheld one only whose bravery declared him a person truly worthy of the Roman empire. He was a centurion, named *Sempronius Indirrus*, who, without having received any particular favour from Galba, but only from a principle of honour, and in obedience to the law, placed himself before the chair, and holding up the vine-branch with which the centurions correct the soldiers when they deserve to be punished, cried out, and commanded those who were attacking Galba to spare the emperor; and when he found himself assaulted by them, he drew his sword, and defended himself a considerable time, till he received a wound in the ham, upon which he fell to the ground. When they had overturned Galba's chair near the Curtian lake, they fell at once upon him, and wounded him in many places as he was rolling upon the ground. At the same time he presented his throat to them, and said, *Strike, if it be for the good of the public.* He received many wounds in his arms and legs. It is generally said, that Camurius, a soldier in the fifteenth legion, was the person who stabbed him in the throat: but some ascribe it to Terentius, some to Arcadius, and others to Fabius Fabulus. They also say, that when Fabius had cut off his head, he was forced to wrap it up in the skirt of his

his garment, because it was so bald that he could take no hold of it; but his associates not suffering him to conceal so brave an action, he fixing upon the point of his spear, and swinging about in sport the head of a venerable old man, a mild prince, a chief priest, and consul, ran on like a furious Bacchanal, brandishing his weapon stained with the blood which trickled from it.

When the head was presented to Otho, he cried out, *This is nothing, my fellow-soldiers, unless you show me that of Piso too.* This was brought to him soon after; for that prince having received a wound, fled, and was pursued by Statius Murcus, who slew him near the temple of Vesta. At the same time they killed Vinus, who protested that he was in the conspiracy, and cried out, that if they murdered him, it was contrary to Otho's order. However they cut off his head, and Laco's also, and presenting them to Otho, required of him to be rewarded for their service. And, as Archilochus says,

*See on the plain sev'n slaughter'd warriors bleed,
See thousands claim the glory of the deed.*

Thus many, who had not the least share in this murder, showed their bloody hands and swords to Otho, and petitioned for a reward. Vitellius found afterwards a hundred and twenty of these petitions; and causing a diligent search to be made after the authors, he put them all to death. Marius Celsus coming into the camp, was loudly accused of having encouraged the soldiers to assist Galba, and the multitude cried out that he should be put to death. But Otho being desirous to save him, and yet not daring to refuse them in plain terms, pretended it was not for his interest to kill him so soon, because he wanted first to get some information from him. He therefore commanded him to be put in irons, and committed him to the

the custody of some in whom he had an entire confidence.

Immediately after this the senate was convened, and as if they were not now the same men, or had other gods to swear by, they took the same oath to Otho, as Otho himself had not long before taken to Galba, and had just then violated; and they conferred on him the title of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, even whilst the headless carcases of the slain lay yet in their consular robes in the forum. As for the heads, when they could make no other use of them, they sold that of Vinus to his daughter for two thousand five hundred drachmas. Piso's was begged by his wife Verania. Galba's was given to the servants of Patrobius and Vitellius *, who, after they had used it with the utmost indignity, flung it into the place called *Sestertium*, where they throw the bodies of those who are slain by order of the emperors. Galba's corpse was conveyed away by Priscus Helvidius, with the permission of Otho, and buried in the night by his freedman Argius.

Such is the history of Galba, a man who was inferior to few of his contemporaries either in wealth or nobility, and in both together surpassed them all; who had lived under the reign of five emperors with great honour and reputation; and who overpowered Nero by the authority of his character, rather than by the force of arms. Of all those who conspired against that tyrant, some were not esteemed by any worthy to succeed him, and others did not even think themselves worthy. But Galba was invited, and called upon to accept of the empire, and only yielded obedience to those who proclaimed him; and as soon as he had lent his name to authorise the revolt of Vindex, what be-

* Patrobius had been put to death by Galba, p. 236. and it is no wonder that his servants should thus show their resentment. But it is not so easy to account for this behaviour in Vitellius's servants. There is probably a mistake in the name.

fore was called rebellion, was considered only as a civil war, when such a man as Galba, who was fit to govern, was at the head of it. Wherefore it could not be said of him that he seized the empire to himself, but resigned himself up to the empire, and in that view vainly hoped to govern those Romans who had been corrupted by the flattery and indulgence of Tigellinus and Nymphidius, as Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus did the armies in their days. And though he was enfeebled by age, he nevertheless showed himself an emperor truly worthy of ancient Rome in every thing relating to armies, and military operations. But by giving himself up to Vinus, Laco, and his freedmen, who made sale of every thing, as Nero before him had suffered himself to be governed by other insatiable wretches, he lost himself to that degree, that though many pitied his fate, no one desired to live under his government.

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THis new emperor went early in the morning to the capitol, and sacrificed ; and having commanded Marius Celsus to be brought, he saluted him, spoke to him with great kindness, and desired him, *rather to forget his fault than remember his release* ; to which Celsus answered, neither meanly nor ungratefully, *that his very crime ought to recommend his integrity, since he was accused of having been true to Galba, from whom he had never received any personal obligations.* Upon which they were both of them admired by all who were present, and applauded by the foldiers.

In the senate Otho made a very mild and popular harangue. The time which still remained of his consulship he shared with Verginius Rufus, and displaced none who had been nominated to that dignity by Nero or Galba. Those who were respectable for their age and character, he promoted to the priesthood ; and he restored to all those senators who had been banished by Nero, and recalled by Galba, whatever part of their estates remained unfold. So that the nobility and chief of the people, who were at first apprehensive that no human creature, but some mischievous and destructive dæmon,

mon, had seized the empire, now entertained the most pleasing hopes of an administration that had so promising a beginning.

But nothing more gratified the people in general, or more contributed to gain their favour, than his behaviour to Tigellinus. Though he was already punished in secret by the apprehension of that punishment which the whole city required as a just debt, and by the incurable distempers with which he was afflicted; and though all wise men esteemed that exorbitant lust which still enslaved him, and made him, though almost at the point of death, hanker after his former abominable gratifications, to be the most dreadful of all punishments, and worse than many deaths; yet the common people could not bear to think that he should even enjoy the light of the sun, by whose means so many others had been deprived of it. He was then at his estate near Sinuessæ, which was his place of residence; and Otho ordered him to be sent for, just as he was contriving his escape by means of some vessels that lay ready on the coast. At first he endeavoured to corrupt the messenger to favour his design; but when he found that was to no purpose, he made him as considerable a present as if he had really connived at it; and only entreating him to stay till he had shaved, he took that opportunity, and cut his throat with his razor.

Cæsar having by this justly endeared himself to the people, seemed to retain no remembrance of his own private injuries. And that he might be more popular, he refused not to be called *Nero* in the theatre; and when some persons exposed that emperor's statues to public view, he did not discourage it. Claudius Rufus * says that he dispatched

* The writer of whom Plutarch speaks in this place, was not called *Claudius Rufus*, but *Cluvius Rufus*, who was substituted consul in the year of Rome six hundred ninety-seven. He wrote the history of his own times.

letters into Spain with the name of Nero affixed to that of Otho; but as soon as he perceived this gave offence to the nobility, it was omitted.

After he had settled the government in this manner, the prætorian soldiers gave him a great deal of uneasiness by endeavouring to make him suspect and discountenance the nobility; which they did either from affection to him and concern for his safety, or else using this only as a pretence that they might bring the state into confusion. Once when the emperor himself had sent orders to Crispinus to march the seventeenth cohort from Ostia where it then lay in garrison, Crispinus began as soon as it grew dark to pack up the arms in waggons. Upon this some of the most turbulent cried out that Crispinus had some bad intention, that the senate designed to change the government, and that those arms were to be employed against the emperor, and not for him. When this report began to spread, many of the guards mutinied; some seized the waggons, and others slew Crispinus and two centurions that opposed them; and arming themselves and encouraging one another, they all marched to Rome. As soon as they heard that eighty of the senators were at supper with Otho, they flew to the palace, saying that now they had an opportunity to destroy all Cæsar's enemies at once. The city was greatly alarmed with the apprehension of being immediately sacked and ruined. All were in confusion about the palace, and the emperor himself was in no small consternation; he was concerned for the senators (some of whom had brought their wives to supper thither), and they were afraid of him, and fixed their eyes on him in silence and anxiety. He therefore ordered some of the superiour officers to speak to the soldiers and compose the tumult; and at the same time he dismissed his guests by another door. They were no sooner gone, but the soldiers rushed into the room, and inquired what was become of
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the emperor's enemies. Then Otho rising from his couch, and making use both of arguments and entreaties, and even of tears at last, with great difficulty persuaded them to desist.

The next day he went to the camp, and distributed a bounty of twelve hundred and fifty denarii to each of them. Then he commended them for the regard they had to his safety, but told them, that some of them were disaffected towards him, and had not only abused his clemency, but had also misrepresented their loyal intentions and fidelity, and therefore he desired their assistance in doing justice upon these offenders. To this they all consented, and his resentment was satisfied with the execution of two only, who he knew would be unlamented by the whole army. Those who were inclined to think favourably of him, and to approve his actions, admired his behaviour; others thought that he only out of policy accommodated himself to the circumstances of the time, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the soldiers on account of the war that was impending. For now it was certainly known that Vitellius had assumed the sovereign authority; and frequent expresses brought an account of parties going over to him; it was said however that the armies in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their officers, adhered to Otho.

About this time letters were sent from Mutianus and Vespasian, both of them generals of formidable armies, the one in Syria, the other in Judæa, to assure him of their friendship. He was so much encouraged by these letters, that he advised Vitellius by letter, not to aim at any thing beyond his rank, and offered him a large sum of money and a city, where he might pass his life in ease and security. Vitellius at first answered him with a civil kind of raillery; but afterwards being both thoroughly provoked, their letters were filled with the most outrageous insult and abuse. Neither of them in-

deed accused the other falsely ; but it was very absurd and ridiculous to upbraid each other with the follies of which they were both equally guilty. For it was hard to determine which of them had been most profuse, debauched, and effeminate, which of them was most ignorant in military affairs, and which of them was poorest and most in debt.

As to the prodigies and apparitions that were said to happen about this time, many of the accounts were uncertain, and could not be traced to their first authors ; but it was universally known, that the statue of Victory in the capitol let the reins of her chariot fall out of her hands, as if she were grown too weak to hold them any longer ; and that Julius Cæsar's statue, in the island of the Tiber, turned from west to east, though there was no earthquake nor any wind to occasion it. And the same thing is likewise reported to have happened about the time when Vespasian publicly assumed the government. The inundation of the Tiber was also esteemed by the common people a very unfavourable omen ; for though it happened at the time when rivers usually overflow, the Tiber had never swelled so far above its banks, nor caused so much damage before ; and a great part of the city being under water, and especially the corn-market, it occasioned a dearth for several days.

At this time news was brought that Cecina and Valens, two officers under Vitellius, had possessed themselves of the Alps. Dolabella a patrician was suspected by the guards of disaffection ; and the emperor fearing either him or some other, sent him to Aquinum, with assurances of his friendly intentions. He then chose some of the magistrates to go with him to the war, and amongst the rest, Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, without distinguishing him by any new marks either of his favour or displeasure. He also showed such a tender regard to the mother and wife of Vitellius, that he freed them

them from all apprehensions of any injury from him. He made Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, governour of Rome, either in honour to the memory of Nero, (for he had advanced him formerly to that command, and Galba had deprived him of it), or else to show his affection for Vespasian, by his favour to his brother.

When he came to Brixillum, a town in Italy near the river Po, he halted himself, but ordered the army to march forward under the conduct of Marius Celsus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gallus, and Spurina, all men of experience and reputation, but unable to enforce their orders by reason of the ungovernable obstinacy of the army, which was resolved to be commanded by none but the emperor himself. Nor was the enemy under better discipline, being stubborn and disobedient upon the same account, though they were more experienced and patient of labour. For Otho's men were totally dissolved in sloth, and unused to war, minding nothing but public spectacles and the entertainments of the theatre, and so extremely insolent and arrogant, that they would often refuse to obey orders, not pretending that they were unable to do what was commanded, but affecting to think themselves above it; so that Spurina had like to have been killed for attempting to force them to their duty, for they reviled him in the most abusive manner, and accused him of a design to betray Cæsar's interest; nay, some of them who were drunk came by night into his tent, and telling him that they must go to the emperor to complain of him, demanded money to defray the expense of their journey.

However the contemptuous treatment the garrison met with at Placentia, was very serviceable to Spurina in the present posture of affairs; for Vitellius's men marched up to the walls, and upbraided Otho's soldiers as they stood upon the ramparts,

calling them players, dancers, idle spectators of Pythian and Olympic games ; but ignorant and unpractised in the art of war ; mean wretches, that triumphed in the beheading of Galba an unarmed old man, but were afraid to look their enemies in the face. These reproaches so inflamed them, that they fell at Spurina's feet, and entreated him to employ them, assuring him that they would decline no toil or danger. Whereupon, when Vitellius's forces made a vigorous attack upon the town, the besieged repulsed them with great slaughter, and by that means kept possession of one of the most flourishing cities in Italy.

Otho's officers were much more inoffensive, both to cities and private persons, than those of Vitellius ; among whom was Cecina, a man disagreeable in his speech and address, of a gigantic stature, and very uncouth and singular in his habit, being always dressed in a coat with long sleeves and in breeches, after the manner of the Gauls, even whilst he conversed with the Roman officers. His wife too magnificently dressed, and followed by a numerous train of attendants on horseback, accompanied the army. On the other hand, Fabius Valsens, the other general, was so covetous, that neither the spoil of his enemies, nor the contributions of his friends and allies could satisfy him. That he might have time to raise money, he marched so slowly, that he could not be present at the first engagement. It is true Cecina is blamed by some for engaging before Fabius could join him, that he might have no partner in the glory of the victory ; for, besides other less material objections that are made to this conduct, it is said that by his unseasonable attack he had almost ruined the affairs of his own party.

When he found himself repulsed at Placentia, he besieged Cremona, a large and rich city. In the mean time Annius Gallus marched to join Spurina
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at Placentia ; but having intelligence that the siege was raised, and that Cremona was invested, he hastened to its relief, and encamped just by the enemy, where he was daily reinforced. Cecina had posted a strong party of foot in some woody places, commanding the horse to advance, and if the enemy should charge them, then to make a slow retreat, and so draw them into an ambush ; but the stratagem being discovered to Celfus by some deserters, he advanced with his cavalry against Cecina's troops, and when they retreated, he pursued them so cautiously, that he surrounded and dispersed those who lay in ambuscade ; and if the legions which he ordered to advance from the camp had come up soon enough to sustain the horse, Cecina's whole army, in all appearance, had been totally routed ; but Paulinus moving too slowly *, was accused of more caution than was necessary, or worthy of his character. So that the soldiers incensed Otho against him, accused him of treachery, and pretended that the victory was in their power, and that if it was not complete, it was owing to the mismanagement of their general. Now Otho did not so much believe these accusations, as endeavour to appear not to disbelieve them. He therefore sent his brother Titianus, with Proculus the captain of his guards, to the army, where the

* Tacitus tells us that Paulinus was naturally slow and irresolute, that he chose rather to owe his safety to his conduct, than the victory to hazard ; and charges him with two material oversights on this occasion ; the first was, that instead of founding the charge, and supporting his cavalry by falling briskly upon Cecina, he spent his time in filling up the trenches, and levelling the ground, that he might enlarge his battalions, thinking it too early to begin to conquer till he had provided against being conquered. This gave the enemy time to retire into some vineyards, from whence they renewed the charge, and killed the foremost of the prætorian bands, among whom was King Epiphanes, who received a mortal wound as he was fighting with great courage and bravery. The second was, his not making a right use of the disorder the enemy were in, and causing a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably.

latter was general in reality, and the former but in appearance. Celsus and Paulinus had the title of friends and counsellors, but not the least authority in things of any moment. At the same time there were great tumults amongst the enemy, especially where Valens commanded; for his soldiers being informed of what happened at the ambuscade, were enraged because they were not permitted to be present to save the lives of so many brave men who died in that action. Valens upon this occasion was in great danger, for they began to assault him with stones; but having at last with great difficulty pacified them, he quitted the camp, and joined Cecina.

About this time Otho came to the camp at Bebriacum, a small city near Cremona, and called a council of war, where Proculus and Titianus declared for giving battle, both because the soldiers were flushed with their late success, and their courage would be damped if they remained inactive, and also because Vitellius was soon expected out of Gaul. But Paulinus was of opinion that the enemy's whole force was present, and that there was no body of reserve behind; but that Otho, if he would consult his own opportunity rather than that of the enemy, might expect a reinforcement out of Mysia and Pannonia, not inferior to those troops that were then present. He thought it probable too, that the soldiers who had so much courage before they were joined, would be still more resolute when the forces were all come up. Besides, the deferring a battle could not be inconvenient to them, who were sufficiently provided with all necessaries: but the others being in an enemy's country, must needs be exceedingly straitened in a little time. Marius Celsus was of Paulinus's opinion. Annius Gallus being absent, and under the surgeon's hands, on account of a fall from his horse, was consulted by letter; he advised Otho to stay
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for those legions that were marching from Myfia ; but, after all, the opinion of those who declared for a battle, prevailed.

There are several reasons given for this determination, but the most apparent is this ; that the emperor's guards not relishing the strict military discipline which they had never been accustomed to before, and longing for the diversions and luxury of Rome, would not be restrained, but were eager for a battle, imagining that upon the first onset they should carry all before them. It seems too that Otho himself could not bear the pain of uncertainty, having been bred up effeminately, and not used to the thoughts of danger ; and therefore being so uneasy at the apprehension of it, he, as it were, shut his eyes, and, like one going to leap from a precipice, committed himself to fortune.

This is the account given by Secundus the orator, Otho's secretary. But others say it was proposed that the armies on both sides should meet, and if they could be unanimous, should proceed to chuse the best of those who had already been proclaimed emperors ; but if not, that they should convene the senate, and invest them solely with the power of election. And as neither of those who had assumed the title of emperor was highly esteemed, it is probable that the best and wisest among the soldiers might reflect, that it would be a shameful and unreasonable thing for the Romans to bring upon each other all that misery and distress which they had formerly suffered for the sake of Sylla and Marius, and afterwards of Pompey and Cæsar, merely to indulge Vitellius in his gluttony and drunkenness, or Otho in his luxury and lewdness. It is thought that Celsus, upon such reflections, protracted the time in order to an accommodation ; and that Otho pushed on things to an extremity to prevent it. He indeed returned to Brixillum,

Brixillum *, but very indiscreetly, both because his soldiers would fight with less resolution when not animated by his presence, and because he weakened the army, by detaching some of his best troops for his horse and foot guards.

About this time there happened a skirmish on the Po. As Cecina was laying a bridge over it, the emperor's forces fell upon him, in order to hinder him from proceeding in the work. But finding their efforts ineffectual, they threw torches covered with pitch and sulphur, into some boats, which, by the help of the wind and the current, were carried into the midst of the enemy. First there arose a smoke, and then a violent flame broke out; upon which Cecina's men leaped into the river, overset their boats, and thus were quite exposed to their enemies, who laughed to see their confusion and distress. In the mean time the Germans charged Otho's gladiators upon a small island in the river, routed them, and killed a great number of them. Whereupon the emperor's forces at Bibracum being greatly enraged, and eager to attack the enemy, marched out under Proculus, to a place fifty furlongs off, where they encamped; but the place was so injudiciously and absurdly chosen, that the soldiers suffered extremely for want of water, though it was in the spring-time, and the country was full of running streams. The next day there was a design of marching against the enemy, who were about a hundred furlongs distant; but this was opposed by Paulinus, who thought it more advisable to keep their post, than, after they had been fatigued with their march, immediately to engage those who had leisure to draw up in order,

* When a battle was resolved upon, it was debated in council if the emperor should be present in the action, or retire. Paulinus and Marius Celsus durst not oppose his departure for fear it should be thought they had a mind to expose his person. Whereupon he retired to Brixillum, which was the cause of his ruin, as Plutarch observes.

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whilst they themselves were encumbered with their train and baggage.

While the generals were arguing upon this subject, a Numidian courier came from Otho, with orders immediately to give battle; upon which they marched without delay. As soon as Cecina had notice of this, he was terrified, and quitting his post on the river, and leaving his bridge unfinished, hastened to the camp. In the mean time Valens ordered his men to their arms, and gave the signal to engage, posting his best cavalry in the front till they were all drawn up. At first Otho's foremost troops were of opinion, upon a groundless rumour, that the officers on the other side would come over to them; and accordingly, upon their first approach, they saluted them by the familiar title of fellow-soldiers; but the others returned the salutation with angry and disdainful words, which not only disheartened them, but also gave occasion to the rest to suspect their fidelity. This caused a confusion at the very first onset; immediately all order was at an end; and the encumbrance of the baggage, as well as the nature of the ground, very much contributed towards it. The ditches and inequalities were so many, that they were forced to break their ranks, and fight in small parties. There were but two legions, one of Vitellius's, called *The ravenous*, and another of Otho's called *The assistant*, which having gained an open plain, continued to fight a regular battle. The latter consisted of brave and robust men, but they had never been in an engagement before; the soldiers of the former had great experience, but they were old and past their vigour. Otho's legion charged briskly, broke the first rank, with great slaughter, and took the eagle; and the other, full of rage and shame, returned the charge, flew Orphidius, the commander of the legion, and took several standards. Varus Alphenus, with his Batavi, who are the natives of an island

island formed by the Rhine, and are esteemed the best of the German horse, fell upon the gladiators, who had a great reputation for their valour and manner of fighting hand to hand. Some of the latter stood their ground, but the greatest part of them fled towards the river, and falling in with the cohorts, were all cut to pieces. But none of them behaved so ill as the prætorian bands; who, without ever facing the enemy, ran away, broke through those of their own army that yet stood their ground, and put them into disorder. Notwithstanding this, many of Otho's men bore down all before them, and forced their way to the camp through the very midst of their conquerors.

But neither Proculus nor Paulinus durst take the same way, being afraid of the soldiers, who already charged the miscarriage upon their commanders. Annius Gallus received into the city all the scattered parties, and encouraged them with an assurance that the defeat was not total, but that, on the contrary, the victory, was in some measure on their side. Marius Celsus assembling the principal officers, told them, *That regard should be had to the public safety; that if Otho was a good man, he would not, after such an expense of Roman blood, attempt any thing further, since Cato and Scipio (though the liberty of Rome was at stake) were accused of being too prodigal of so many brave mens lives as were lost in Africa, instead of submitting to Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia.* For though, said he, all persons are equally subject to the caprice of fortune; yet all good men have one advantage which she cannot deprive them of, the power of acting reasonably under misfortunes. The officers being persuaded by this discourse, founded the private soldiers, and found them desirous of peace; therefore Titianus urged that commissioners should be named in order to a treaty; and accordingly it was agreed that Celsus and Gallus should go and confer with Valens and Cecina. As they were upon the
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the road, they met some centurions, who told them the army of the enemy was marching for Bebriacum, and that they themselves were deputed by their generals to carry proposals for an accommodation. Celsus commended them, and prevailed upon them to return with him to Cecina. Upon his approach he was in some danger from the horse that had suffered at the ambuscade, and who were now advancing before the rest of the army: for as soon as they saw him, they shouted, and were coming down upon him; but the centurions interposed, and the other officers commanded them to desist. In the mean time Cecina came up, and soon quelled the tumult; and, after a compliment to Celsus, he went with him to Bebriacum.

Titianus now repented of having sent this deputation, and therefore posted the most resolute of his men upon the walls, and ordered the rest to stand by them. But when Cecina rode up, and offered his hand, there was no further opposition made; his men were saluted from the wall, the gates were opened, both parties united, and instead of acts of hostility, there was nothing but mutual congratulations; and every one took the oaths, and submitted to Vitellius.

This is the account which most of those that were present at the battle give of it; yet they own that the great confusion of the engagement hindered them from knowing distinctly every particular.

As I was going long after over the field of battle, Mestrius Florus, a person of consular dignity, showed me an old man, who in his youth had, with many others of the same age with himself, been forced against his inclination to bear arms under Otho; he likewise told me, that as he went that way after the battle, he observed a vast heap of bodies piled up, but could not guess at the meaning of it himself, nor hear any other give a tolerable account of it. Indeed in civil wars it necessarily

happens that great numbers are killed, because no prisoners are taken; for such captives are of no advantage to the conquerors. But why the carcases should be heaped up together, is not easy to determine.

At first Otho (as it frequently happens) met with uncertain accounts of the issue of the battle. But when some of the wounded soldiers, who returned from the field, informed him rightly of it, it is not to be wondered at that his friends should take pains to support him under his concern: but the fidelity of some of the soldiers exceeds all belief; they would neither go over to the conqueror to make terms for themselves, nor quit the conquered in his extremity of ill fortune; but, on the contrary, crowded his gates, and gave him the title of emperor. They kissed his hand, fell at his feet, and with tears entreated him not to forsake them, nor give them up to the enemy, but to accept of their duty and fidelity which should continue to their last breath. In these supplications they all joined. But a certain obscure private soldier drawing his sword, addressed himself thus to Otho: *By this, Cæsar, judge of our fidelity; for there is not a man amongst us but would strike thus to serve thee; and then stabbed himself.* Notwithstanding this, Otho stood unmoved, and with a serene and steady countenance spoke thus.

This day, my fellow-soldiers, which gives me such proofs of your affection, is preferable even to that on which you saluted me emperor. But deny me not the still greater satisfaction of laying down my life for the preservation of so many brave men. If I am worthy of the Roman empire, it becomes me to die for my country. I know that the enemy has neither gained an entire nor a decisive victory; I have advice that the Mysian army is not far off, and is now approaching the Adriatic sea; that the Asian, Syrian, and Ægyptian forces, and the legions in Judæa declare for us; the senate is also in
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our power, as well as the wives and children of our enemies. But it is not with Hannibal, with Pyrrhus, with the Cimbri that we fight for the defence of Italy; but Romans are fighting against Romans, and the victors and the vanquished both distress their country, and the success of the conqueror tends to her ruin. Believe me therefore, I think it not so glorious to reign, as to die for my country; nor can I see how Rome can gain so much by my victory, as by my death, since it is that must seal our peace, and secure Italy from such another unhappy day.

As soon as he had said this, and absolutely refused to listen to any persuasions or entreaties, he took leave of his friends and the senators that were present, wrote to those who were absent, and sent letters likewise to the several cities, ordering them to give an honourable reception to his friends, and to provide for the security of their journey. Then he sent for young Cocceius*, his brother's son, and bid him not to fear Vitellius, whose family he had hitherto treated with the same tenderness as his own. He also told him, that his adoption had been deferred out of regard to his safety; since Cæsar could have been glad his nephew had shared with him in his good fortune if he were conqueror, but not in his ruin if he were vanquished. And last of all, my son, said he, I charge thee, neither entirely to forget, nor too strongly to remember, that Cæsar was your uncle. Soon after he heard a tumult amongst the soldiers at the door, who were threatening to kill the senators for abandoning the emperor; upon which, out of regard to their safety, he appeared again, but not with a gentle and suppliant aspect as before, but with an angry and menacing countenance, which so terrified the soldiers that they immediately retired.

In the evening being thirsty he drank a little water. He had two daggers; and when he had sufficiently examined their points, he laid one of them

* Tacitus and Suetonius call him Cocceianus.

down, and put the other under his arm. Then he called his servants, and, as a proof of his affection, distributed some money amongst them, but not inconsiderately, nor like one too lavish of what was not his own; for to some he gave more, to others less, judiciously distinguishing every one's particular merit. When this was done, he dismissed them, and passed the rest of the night in so profound a sleep, that the officers of his bedchamber heard him snore. In the morning he called for his freedman whom he had appointed to take care of the senators, and bid him go and inquire about them; being informed they were all gone, and were provided with every thing they wanted, *Go then, said he, and show yourself to the soldiers, lest they should cut you to pieces for being accessory to my death.* As soon as he was gone, Otho holding the dagger in both his hands with the point upwards, fell upon it, and with one groan expired.

Those who waited without heard him groan, and burst into a loud lamentation, which soon spread through the camp and the city. The soldiers ran with the most passionate outcries to the door of the palace, upbraiding themselves for having been so negligent in guarding that life which was laid down to preserve theirs. None of them would quit the body to secure themselves against the approaching enemy; but having raised a funeral pile, and magnificently adorned the body, they bore it thither, every one ambitiously striving to assist in carrying the bier. Some of them kneeled and kissed his wound, others grasped his hand, and the rest prostrated themselves, and worshipped him at a distance. Several, after the pile was lighted, sacrificed their lives, though neither (as it is believed) in return of personal obligations from him, nor from an apprehension of ill usage from Vitellius; for certainly no tyrant ever had so passionate and extravagant a desire to command others as these men

men had to obey Otho. Nor did their love cease upon his death, but still continued, and at last produced in them an implacable hatred against Vitellius, as will be shown in its proper place.

After they had buried his ashes, they built him a tomb, which was not to be envied either for the stateliness of its structure, or the pomp of its inscription. I myself have seen it at Brixillum; it seemed very plain, and the epitaph was only this:

To the memory of Marcus Otho.

He died in his thirty-seventh year, after a short reign of about three months; his death being as much applauded as his life was censured; for though he lived as profligately as Nero, he died much more nobly. The soldiers were very angry with Pollio, one of the chief commanders of the guards, for advising them to swear allegiance immediately to Vitellius. When they understood that some of the senators were upon the spot, they took no notice of the rest, but offered the government to Verginius Rufus; and going in one body to his house in arms, they entreated and urged him to accept of the empire, or at least to be their mediator. But he that refused to command them when conquerors, thought it ridiculous to pretend to it now they were defeated; and he was afraid to go and treat with the Germans, who thought themselves in many respects injured by him. He therefore slipped away through a private door. As soon as the soldiers were informed of this, they took the oath to Vitellius, and having obtained their pardon, served under Cecina.

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